

James Simon

Chelms
1860

THE
WITCH of ENDOR:

OR, A

P L E A

FOR THE

Divine Administration

By the Agency of

GOOD and EVIL SPIRITS.

Written some Years ago, at the Request of a Lady; and now Reprinted with a *Prefatory Discourse*, Humbly Addressed to the *Honourable Members* of the House of C——s, who brought in their *Bill* (Jan. 27) for *Repealing* the Statute of 1 Jac. Cap. 12. concerning *WITCHCRAFT*.

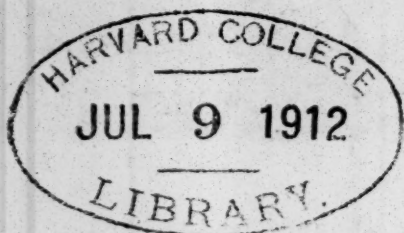
— *Left haply ye be found even to fight against God.*
Counsellor Gamaliel's Advice, *Acts v.*

L O N D O N

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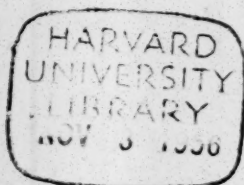
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To the HONOURABLE
Members of the House of Com-
mons, Mr. CONDUIT, Mr. CROSS
and Mr. HEATHCOT.

GENTLEMEN,



YOU have been lately told, by a Wri-
ter of very great Distinction, * *That*
Distance of Time makes a great Al-
teration in Religion, as well as Lan-
guages ; which, if true, may possi-
bly serve, in the best Manner, to justify your
present Proceedings relating to *Witchcraft* : For,
otherwise, what can be said for those renowned
Sages of the Law, such as Lord Chief Justice
Coke, Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, &c. who, with
all their *Learning*, *Good Sense*, and *Solid*

* See the *plain Account* of the Nature and End of the
Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 8.

Judgment, are now to be recorded as sad Instances of Human *Frailty* ; and are become, in one Respect, as much the Subject of your *Pity* and *Derision*, as they formerly were of your profound Veneration, in all Points of our *English Law*.

'Tis said, that this *intended Repeal* of the *Statute of 1 Jac. C. 12.* took its Rise from the same *zealous Principle*, that now animates and displays itself in so *signal* a Manner, for preserving the many *Lives* of His Majesty's good Subjects, which might otherwise perish by a weak Judge, and an ignorant Jury ; as also for *rescuing* all of us in general, (such as pass under the Denomination of *Protestant*) from the grievous Oppression of such *Relicts* (as I suppose you take *Witchcraft* to be) of *Popery* and *Superstition* : And yet it has so happened, Gentlemen, that, during the *long Reign* of Queen *Elizabeth*, of glorious Memory (who, you will agree, neither wanted wise Senators, nor able Counsellors ; and, considering the many *Thunder-Claps* they had to annoy them from the *Vatican*, it may be reasonably thought, their *Spirits* were the more irritated, and consequently that the Work of *Reformation* went faster on). I say, during that *long Reign*, *Witchcraft* was not deemed a *Relict* of *Popery*. And when, after the Queen's Demise, the *Legislature* had Reasons (which I shall not trouble you with) for making Alterations, by repealing the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth* ; you will please to observe, they made no *Alterations*, as to their *Notions* of

of *Witchcraft*. They still consider'd it as an *Offence Capital* immediately against the *Divine Majesty*, and therefore made the *Punishment Felony*, as being firmly persuaded of the *real Nature* of the *Offence*. Nor were our *Senators*, in succeeding Reigns, hardy enough (pardon the Expression) to debate the *Operations* of the *Intellectual World*: For they were convinced (and, upon such Conviction, they ever declined such *Debates*) that Infinite Wisdom and Power has made it as great a *Secret* to his Creature *Man*, *How*, or in what *Manner* his *Ministring Spirits* (for Good or for Evil, to Reward or to Punish) do *communicate* with us in this *sublunary World*, as He has *that* of Soul and Body's *operating* on each other. You will not question the *latter Operation*, because 'tis *Fact* too notorious. And give me Leave to add, that, without the Help of such a *Divine Spark* within your own Breasts, you could not so much as carry on your *Debates* on the *former*.

My Lord Chief Justice *Hale* (Gentlemen) in his *Pleas* of the *Crown*, gives the following short Analytical Account of the *Statute* concerning *Witchcraft*. "At Common Law, says he, "*Witchcraft* is punished with Death, as *Here-sy* was, by Writ *de Heretico comburendo*. *

* My Lord refers to *Coke's Pleas of the Crown*, *Cap. 6*. which I don't doubt, but your Worships have consulted, and pity'd his Understanding and Knowledge too as well as the *other's*.

“ The Statute of 1 *Jac.* 12. is the only Law
 “ now in Force against it, and divides it into
 “ two Degrees. *Witchcraft* in the *first* Degree
 “ made *Felony* without Benefit of Clergy, inclu-
 “ ding *four* Sorts or Species.

“ I. Invocation or Conjurat[i]on of an Evil
 “ Spirit.

“ II. Consult, covenant with, entertain, em-
 “ ploy, feed or Reward any Evil Spirit to any
 “ Intent, tho’ no Act be done thereupon.

“ III. Take up any dead Person, or any Part
 “ thereof, to be employed or used in Witch-
 “ craft, Charm, &c. though not actually used or
 “ employed.

“ IV. Exercise any Witchcraft, Inchantment,
 “ Charm, or Sorcery, whereby any Person shall
 “ be killed, destroyed, consumed, or lamed in
 “ his or her Body, or any Part thereof; which
 “ requires the Act to be done, *viz.* laming,
 “ consuming, &c.

“ These, and all accessory before, to suffer
 “ as *Felons* without Clergy: But Accessories
 “ may be after; but then they have Clergy,
 “ because not specially excluded.

“ *Witchcraft* in the *Second* Degree;

“ I. To take upon them by Witchcraft, In-
 “ chantment, Charm, or Sorcery, to tell where
 “ *Treasure* is to be found: They that take up-
 “ on them to do it, though they cannot, yet
 “ within this Law.

“ II. Or

“ II. Or where Goods *lost* or *stolen* may be found.

“ III. Or to the Intent to provoke any Person to *unlawful* Love ; these Clauses come under the Word (*taking upon*).

“ IV. Whereby Goods or Cattle shall be destroyed ; which requires an actual destroying, and not a bare *taking upon them*.

“ V. Or shall use *Witchcraft*, &c. to hurt any Person, though the same be not effected.

“ The Punishment of these, 1. The *First* Offence a Year's Imprisonment and Pillory. 2.

“ The *Second* Offence, *Felony* : But this requires, 1. An actual Conviction and Judgment for the *First*. 2. The *Second* Offence

“ must be committed after the Judgment for the *Frist*. The like in Forgery, Transportation

“ of Sheep, &c. But the Consequents upon an Attainder, *viz.* *Corruption of Blood*, and Loss

“ of *Dower* : But during Life, the *Lands forfeit*. And note, A Saving against Corruption

“ of Blood, preserves the Descent ; and Saving of the Land to the Heir, prevents Corruption

“ of Blood.”

But, Gentlemen, should the greatest Ornaments of the *Long Robe* have hitherto been *mislaken* in not judging of this *Statute*, in the Manner you do ; yet, 'tis humbly presumed, you think as they did, as to the *Intellectual World* in general, though you cannot allow of such its Operations upon the *Material* One. One of your own Side of the Question, a *Clergyman*, now a
Bi sho

Bishop in *Ireland*, is even *positive* (and I make no Doubt, but you will confirm it in the *Preamble* of your *Bill*) when he tells his Three Right Honourable *CHIEFS*, That 'tis a *Point* very certain, *that the sober Belief of good and bad Spirits is an Essential Part of every good Christian's Faith.* * I readily grant, the *Illustrious Triumvirate* easily admitted his *Point* to be very true; but, I must think, they still widely *differed* from him; or, rather, judged it *inconsistent* with such a *Belief*, that all *Communications* should be reckoned *Imaginary*, and that the *Intellectual World* should not serve the *Purposes* of an Almighty Being, in *rewarding* or *punishing* according to the *Divine Appointment*. And I am the more inclined to think so, because They, whom, *by his Dedication*, he imagined might become his *Patrons* in such *Sentiments*, never altered their *Notions*, during the whole *Course* of their *Lives* (so far as I have heard) as to the *Fundamental Part* of the *Statute*, which you are now going *virtually* to *Repeal*: And tho' they were known to be as strongly attach'd to the *Protestant Religion* and *Interest*, as yourselves can possibly be, yet they could not entertain even a *Thought* of having the *Statute* so *Repealed*; nor conclude (as the *Bishop* does) *That Communications from the other World should be deemed the Spring* both of the worst *Corruptions* of *Reli-*

* Dr. *Hutchinson's* *Historical Essay* concerning *Witchcraft*, in his *Dedication*

gion, and the greatest Perversions of Justice. I wish, *that* Right Reverend, since he was pleas'd to annex his *two* Sermons to his *Historical* Tract, (with an Intent, no Doubt, of better reconciling his *jarring* Notions about this Affair) had forbore *mangling* an excellent *Collect* of our Church; (*a*) which, as 'tis grounded on the Holy Scriptures, so *it* stands, and I hope, will ever stand, *supported* by the *Legislature*. What need was there of that *little Variation*, (as he calls it) in striking out the Words, *That, by God's Appointment, Angels may Succour and Defend Us*, and placing in the Room of them, *Assist and further us in the Race of all Goodness*? He knew very well, that St. Paul has inform'd us, that we ought to beg this *Succour* and *Defence* from *Good Spirits*; that we may be able to *Wrestle* (not only against *Flesh* and *Blood*, tho' that's a pretty difficult Task we all find; but) against *bad* ones; to defeat the Wiles, and manifold *Assaults* of *Principalities*, and *Powers*, of the RULERS of the *Darkness* of THIS WORLD, SPIRITUAL WICKEDNESS in *High Places*. (*b*) The Bishop must know, how *Strong* the *Original* Words are against his *No-tions*. With what Intent cou'd St. Paul call these Powers *νομοκρατορας*, but to signify, that we might too often become their *Vassals*, if we did not take Care? And what are the *τα πνευ-*

(*a*) *Collect* appointed for the *Feast* of St. Michael and all Angels.

(*b*) *Eph.* vi. 12.

μαλινὰ τὰς πορνείας, but what stands *explain'd* in the *Margin* of some of our Bibles, viz. *Wicked Spirits*? There is a *παλιν*, a *Struggle* then against their *Efforts*; and if so, there must be something more than an *Imaginary Communication*, as the *Bishop* styles it. In short, the very *Close* of the *Bishop's* Sermon could not possibly lead him to make such a *little Variation*, (as he calls it) but it leads, rather, to make *none* at all, agreeable to this Passage of St. Paul. The *Bishop's* Words are these—*Their Concern*, i. e. of good *Angels*, about our *Souls*, shews the *Value* of them; and from their *Concern* about them, let us learn *Judgment*, and *increase* our own *Care*; and take *Heed* so to order our *Lives*, that they may not be consign'd to that *State*, which God hath prepared for the greatest of those *Evil Spirits*, and all his *Instruments of Evil*. How justly might St. Paul's Words of *Exhortation* have follow'd—*Wherefore* put on the whole *Armour of God*, that ye may be able to stand against the *Wiles of the Devil*; for we wrestle not, &c. But the *Collect* was rather to be altered than the *Text*; and a *little Variation* in the latter, wou'd not have pass'd so easily, as in the former; tho' the *Collect* manifestly comprehends the full *Meaning*, and *Purport* of the *Text* itself; and the *Force* and *Energy* of the *Words* in our *Collect* are lost, when the *Words* (otherwise *Pious* and *Good*) are put in their *Room*, viz. *Assisting and furthering us in the Race of all Goodness*,

Permit

Permit me, Gentlemen, to dwell a little longer upon these *Words* of St. Paul, (a) because they will rather *guide* than mislead you in the *Work* you are about: And, as 'tis a *Work* of no small Importance, it will not be taken amiss, if I remind you of *Gamaliel's* Advice likewise. When the *Gospel* of Christ was Preaching, (which ever condemns *Witchcraft*, and *Sorcery*; Μαγεια, *Acts* xiii, 6, 8, 10. φαρμακεια *Galat.* v. 20, however you, our *Representatives*, shall please to determine the *Affair within Doors*) he had such a strong Impulse on his Mind, of an *overruling Power*, that he thought it proper, tho' a *Jew*, and a great Enemy to the *Apostles*, to let them go on Preaching the *Mysterious Doctrine* of the *Resurrection*: tho', you know, St. Paul had no other Treatment at *Athens*, (when he did the same Thing,) than *that* of a *Babler*. But, says the *Doctor* of the *Law*, (νομοδιδασκαλῶ) *Take heed to yourselves*, &c. The *Fathers*, Gentlemen, were Men of great *Learning*, as well as *Piety*, and *Integrity*; and therefore may justly demand your Attention in this *Affair*: They were by no Means Strangers to *Metaphysicks*; but, yet, did by no Means presume to make such *Discussions*, and *Altercations*, about the Nature of an *Immaterial Being* (not excepting *God* himself) as some of our *Moderns* have ventur'd to do: (b) One of them has told you (and

(a) *Eph.* vi. 12.

(b) See those insufferable *Debates* with Mr. *Larwes*, about the *Immensities* of *God*, &c.

a *hardy* one he is, for which, I shall ask no Pardon) that you are to conceive of the *Divine Substance*, as being *extended*; and if *extended*, our *Faculties*, which God has given us, must ever be at a Loss to conceive of such *Divine Substance*, otherwise, than as *Material*; and consequently, what must be the *Being*, that he wou'd have us to make the *Object* of our *Worship*? (a) “ Since God, says he, is some Way or
 “ other present every where, it follows that his
 “ *Substance*, for *without Substance* he cannot
 “ be *present* at all, it follows, that his *Substance*
 “ must exist every where; and, consequently
 “ have an infinite *Expansion*. As God cannot
 “ be *present* where his *Substance* is *not*, so nei-
 “ ther can he *Act* where his *Substance* is *not*.
 “ His *acting* without *Local Presence* is acting
 “ *no where*, or without *Existing*, if existing
 “ *no where* is the same as *not existing*.” What
 shall we say, Gentlemen? Shall such *Argu-
 ing* as this, about the *Almighty*, be any lon-
 ger suffer'd in a *Christian Country*? What
 says the *Royal Prophet*? (I am persuaded, you
 believe both the *Prophets* and *Apostles* too)
*Whether shall I go from thy Spirit, (b) or whether
 shall I go from thy Presence, &c. My Reins are
 Thine, (my Thoughts, and my very Soul are
 Thine, open and naked to thy All-seeing Eye).*
David did not want *Philosophy*, when he thus

(a) *Ib.* Page 106, &c.

(b) *Psalms* 139.

spake of the *Infinite* Being; and had the *Author*, just mentioned, studied his *Bible* more, and less concerned himself in vending such impious *metaphysical* *Jargon*; he might have form'd from thence the truest, and therefore the *best* Notions of the *Immensity* and *Infinity* of the *Divine Nature*; such as all the *Metaphysicks*, whether of the ancient or modern *Schools*, must be allowed to fall short of. But, Gentlemen, tho' *it must needs be that Offences come*, yet, I hope, I am not to remind you, that therefore you ought to be the more *circumspect*. 'Tis impossible, such *imaginary, vain, sandy Links* of *Argument*, can long detain or lead Captive Persons of that known *good Sense*, the Almighty has been pleas'd to give you. Don't be *offended* if a *Church* of *England* Priest has told you (as he does in exprefs Terms) in a very gross Manner, (a) as to the Nature of *Spirit* in general; "As every *Body's* Sphere of acting is confin'd
 " (says he) to its *Surface*, without and beyond
 " which it cannot act; so every *Spirit's* *Sphere*
 " of acting is *confin'd* to its *local Presence*, with-
 " out and beyond which it *cannot* act. And
 " this Sort of Philosophy is *demonstrative*, he
 " says, or else *nothing* is *so*." But I spare him, unwilling to take up too much of your Time. Had the good *Primitive Fathers*, I just now mentioned, talk'd after this Manner, they must have laid *aside* their *Bible*, as this Gentleman (to his

(a) *Ibid.*

Shame) seems to have done ; at least to any good Purpose ; and those *Venerable Lights* of the Christian Church might justly have deserv'd your *Censure* : But they talk quite otherwise upon this *Matter*, consistently with the *Tenour* of the *whole Scriptures*.

One of them, discoursing upon this *Instructive* Passage of *St. Paul* (*Eph. vi.*) concerning the *Operations* of *Evil Spirits*, when he remarks upon the 11th Verse, where we are exhorted to put on the whole Armour of God, says thus ;
 “ The Apostle does not say, we are to put on
 “ this *Armour*, in Order to enter the Lists (as
 “ Warriors do) with these Invisible Enemies ;
 “ but rather that we fortify our Minds against
 “ their *Cheats* and *Delusions* ; (ὡς πρὸς τὰς μά-
 “ χας, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πολέμους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς μεθο-
 “ δείας, &c. says *St. Chrysostom*, *Hom. 22. in*
 “ *Epist. ad Eph.*) For the Enemy we have to
 “ deal with, does not wage War openly, but
 “ after an *insidious*, treacherous Manner ; which
 “ is the Import of the Word *μεθοδείας* made
 “ Use of by the Apostle (which we translate
 “ *Wiles*) consisting in the various Arts and
 “ *Communications* which they are made capa-
 “ ble of exercising amongst us. There are
 “ many Ways, says the same *Father*, (a) where-
 “ by the Devil circumvents the Indolent and
 “ Secure. ” *Tertullian*, who was once an Eminent *Lawyer*, you know (Gentlemen) even in

(a) *Chrysost.* *Hom. 4. in Genesin.*

the *Second Century*, where he is talking upon this very Passage of *St. Paul* now before us, (*Eph. vi. 12.*) renders *ἡγεμονεατορας*, sometimes *Mundi-potentes*, at other Times *Mundi-tenentes*, implying, that, by the divine Permission, they were in *Possession* of this *Sub'u-nary* World ; agreeable to which, the most Learned, whether Ancient or Modern, do generally assign the *Regions* of the Air between us and the *Moon*, to be the chief Place of Residence for these *Evil Spirits*. (a) It was, in *Allusion* to this Passage of *St. Paul*, that *Minutius Fælix*, in his *Dialogue* (wrote at the very Beginning of the *third Century* between a *Christian* and a *Jew*) says, “ Our being sensible of, and suffering under the Infirmities or Failings of human Nature, is not to be interpreted properly a Punishment, so much as a *Warfare*. (b) ” And the same Eminent *Father*, I have cited already, says, 'Tis such a *Warfare*, that admits of no *Truce* or *Respite*. (c) These *Evil Spirits* or *Demons* (says an Ancient Writer, contemporary with our Venerable *Bede*) are to be considered as *Beings of the same Nature* (τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως) with *good Angels*, but

(a) *Tertull.* Lib. 1, de Resur. Cap. 22.

(b) Quod corporis humana vitia sentimus & patimur, non est pœna, MILITIA est.

(c) ὁ πόλεμος ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν καλόν, *Chrysost.* Orat. 3. in *Genesin*.

became

became *evil* (through their *Pride*) by their own Choice. (a)

Good and *Bad Angels* must be *Substances*, however we are at a Loss to reconcile that with the *present* Notions we have of *Space* and *local Motion*. The sacred Page has assured us, That the *Good* do stand before the Throne of God ; and that 'tis one Part of their Business to *conduct* the Souls of the Blessed into Heaven, as well as to *minister* here below. They are both of them *Spiritual Beings* ; and yet St. Paul (who was once caught up into the *third* Heaven) has assured us, that *Spiritual Beings* have some Sort of *Bodies* or *Vehicles*, which we are not to be made acquainted with on this Side of the Grave. *There is a* Natural Body, says the Apostle, *i. e.* such a *Tabernacle* of *Clay*, as we all dwell in : But then, says he, *There is also a* Spiritual Body (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*, 1 Cor. xv. 44.) Let our present *Scepticks* shew the *Difference*, if they can, rather than question the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, by which we hope to be saved. That the *good* Angels have often *appeared*, is an undoubted Truth, evident from the Writings both of the *Old* and *New Testament*. And what can we understand by such *Appearances*, but that they assumed some *airy Vehicle*, such as the Almighty is pleased they should *sometimes* be cloathed with, in a more

(a) ἐκείως ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἐκκλίνας, J. Damasc. de Orthodoxa Fide, Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

visible Form, the better to *execute* their Divine Commission among the Sons of Men. The *evil Spirits*, since, as I have observed, they be of the *same Nature* with the good, we are to conclude, have *Vehicles* of some Kind or other, that are instrumental in their *Suggestions*, *Delusions*, and *Operations* upon our more *gross Vehicles* or Bodies. We read of great Numbers exercising their *Tyranny* over one *poor Man* ; and I could be glad to be informed, Gentlemen, whether it be our *Piety*, or what other *Cause* you please to assign, that *screens* us from the *Operations* of the *evil Part* of the *Intellectual World*, at this Time of Day. *Jesus* asked him, *i. e.* The Chief of that *hellish Troop*, *What is thy Name?* And he answered, saying, *My Name is Legion* ; for *we are many*. (*Mark v. 9.*) The *Substance* therefore of these *evil Spirits* (after all the *inconsistent Talk* of our present wise *Philosophers* about the Nature of *Space*, *Extension*, *Immensity*, &c. when apply'd to the *Invisible World*) must be of *another Nature* from those *Substances* (how refin'd soever) which we are made acquainted with in this *imperfect State*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (at the Beginning of the *third Century*) who was a compleat *Master* of all Sorts of Learning ; and if his Authority may weigh with you, Gentlemen) says, That though these *evil Spirits* are to be termed *Incorporeal*, as having nothing of that *earthly Substance* whereof we consist ourselves, and which therefore is called *corporeal* ; yet, that still they have something *analogous* to our *Bodies* ; and

which I have already stiled *airy Vehicles*, or, in the Language of the Apostle, *Spiritual Bodies*. *Clemens's* Words, or, rather, as they are adopted from *Theodotus*, run thus ; “ Demons or evil
 “ *Spirits* are called *Incorporeal* ; not, as though
 “ they had no *Body* : For they have some *Form*,
 “ or *Figure*, or *Likeness* ; ($\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\varsigma\ \kappa\iota\ \sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$) by
 “ which they have a Sensation of their Tor-
 “ ments ; but chiefly, because, when compared
 “ with those *Spiritual Bodies* ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$
 “ $\sigma\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$) that are *saved*, they are
 “ but a *Shadow*, and therefore called *Incorpo-*
 “ *real*. ” *Synesius*, who was a *Bishop* before
Popery had a Being, (*A. D.* 410.) says, “ ’Tis
 “ agreeable with Infinite Wisdom, that the *wic-*
 “ *ked Powers* in the World should be made Use
 “ of, as proper Instruments to fulfil his Will
 “ and Pleasure, when he sees fit. (*a*) Accord-
 “ ingly, when He is minded to punish, He
 “ sometime gives *Commission* to those *evil Spirits*,
 “ that command whole Swarms of *Locusts* ; at
 “ other Times to those, whose Office it shall
 “ be to cause and promote the *Plague* or *Pesti-*
 “ *lence* ; at other Times to those, who shall be
 “ the Instruments of *subjecting* a People to a
 “ *barbarous Nation* ; or a *wicked Prince* ; or,
 “ in short, makes *Nature* in general subservi-
 “ ent to all his Purposes. — Shall there be
EVIL in a City, and the Lord hath not done
 it ? (*Amos* iii. 6.)

(*a*) $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$. *Epist.* 57. *passim* alias.

I heartily wish, Gentlemen, that this Sort of Reasoning upon the Matter, might obtain *Credit* with you ; and that what I have said, might be esteem'd (what Bishop *Hutchinson* calls) a *sober Belief of Good and Bad Spirits* ; and which is an *Essential Part*, (he says), of every good *Christian's Faith*. Sir *Thomas Broten*, that eminent *Physician* of *Norwich* ; who, you will readily grant, was a Gentleman of an uncommon Size, in the Knowledge both of *Nature* and *Art* ; (I presume, the Bishop will not put himself upon a Level with him, in that Respect) and, as he was very *adroit* in detecting *Errors* ; the more so, to be sure, he would have been, where *Life* was concern'd, if *Witchcraft* had been one ; happening to attend at the *Affizes* held at *Bury St. Edmond's*, *March* 10, 1664 : When the well known *Tryal* came on, for *Witchcraft*, before Sir *Matthew Hale*, then *Lord Chief Baron* : (After *Evidence* given) there was a mighty *Deference* paid to his Judgment, both by *Judge* and *jury*, in being desir'd to give his Opinion in *open Court* : And upon view of the *Three Persons*, he gave his Opinion in the Words following, (a) viz. " That he was *clearly* of Opinion, that the " *Persons* were *Bewitched* ; said, that in *Den-* " *mark* there had been lately a great Discovery " of *Witches* ; who used the very *same Way*

(a) See Sir *Matthew Hale's* Treatise, touching *Sheriffs* Accompts, &c. Printed for *D. Brown*, 1716,

which I have already stiled *airy Vehicles*, or, in the Language of the Apostle, *Spiritual Bodies*. Clemens's Words, or, rather, as they are adopted from *Theodotus*, run thus ; " Demons or evil
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 " $\sigma\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$) that are *saved*, they are
 " but a *Shadow*, and therefore called *Incorpo-*
 " *real*." *Synesius*, who was a *Bishop* before
Popery had a Being, (*A. D.* 410.) says, " 'Tis
 " agreeable with Infinite Wisdom, that the *wic-*
 " *ked Powers* in the World should be made Use
 " of, as proper Instruments to fulfil his Will
 " and Pleasure, when he sees fit. (*a*) Accord-
 " ingly, when He is minded to punish, He
 " sometime gives *Commission* to those *evil Spirits*,
 " that command whole Swarms of *Locusts* ; at
 " other Times to those, whose Office it shall
 " be to cause and promote the *Plague* or *Pesti-*
 " *lence* ; at other Times to those, who shall be
 " the Instruments of *subjecting* a People to a
 " *barbarous Nation* ; or a *wicked Prince* ; or,
 " in short, makes *Nature* in general subservi-
 " ent to all his Purposes. — *Shall there be*
EVIL in a City, and the Lord hath not done

it ? (*Amos* iii. 6.)

(*a*) $\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$. *Epist.* 57. *passim* alias.

I heartily wish, Gentlemen, that this Sort of Reasoning upon the Matter, might obtain *Credit* with you ; and that what I have said, might be esteem'd (what Bishop *Hutchinson* calls) a *sober Belief of Good and Bad Spirits* ; and which is an *Essential Part*, (he says), of every good *Christian's Faith*. Sir *Thomas Brown*, that eminent *Physician* of *Norwich* ; who, you will readily grant, was a Gentleman of an uncommon Size, in the Knowledge both of *Nature* and *Art* ; (I presume, the Bishop will not put himself upon a Level with him, in that Respect) and, as he was very *adroit* in detecting *Errors* ; the more so, to be sure, he would have been, where *Life* was concern'd, if *Witchcraft* had been one ; happening to attend at the *Affizes* held at *Bury St. Edmond's*, *March 10, 1664* : When the well known *Trial* came on, for *Witchcraft*, before Sir *Matthew Hale*, then *Lord Chief Baron* : (After *Evidence* given) there was a mighty *Deference* paid to his Judgment, both by *Judge* and *Jury*, in being desir'd to give his Opinion in *open Court* : And upon view of the *Three Persons*, he gave his Opinion in the Words following, (*a*) viz. " That he was clearly of Opinion, that the " *Persons* were *Bewitched* ; said, that in *Denmark* there had been lately a great Discovery " of *Witches* ; who used the very same Way

(*a*) See Sir *Matthew Hale's* Treatise, touching *Sheriffs* *Accompts*, &c. Printed for *D. Brown*, 1716.

“ of afflicting Persons, by conveying *Pins* in-
 “ to them, and *crook’d* as these *Pins* were,
 “ with *Needles*, and *Nails*. And his Opinion
 “ was, That the *Devil*, in such Cases, did
 “ work on the *Bodies* of Men and Women;
 “ upon a *natural Foundation*, that is, to *stir*
 “ up, and *excite* such *Humours*, super-abound-
 “ ing in their *Bodies*, to a great Excess; where-
 “ by that *Infernal Spirit* (or his *Agents*) did
 “ in an Extraordinary Manner afflict them with
 “ such *Distempers* (a) as their *Bodies* were
 “ most *Subject* to; as particularly *appeared* in
 “ these *Children*: For he conceived, That
 “ these *swooning Fits* were *Natural*, and no-
 “ thing else but what they call the *Mother*;
 “ but then *heightened* to a great Excess, by
 “ the *Subtily of the Devil*, (or his *Agents*)
 “ *co-operating* with the *Malice* of these, which
 “ we term *Witches*; at whose *Instance*, he, (or
 “ his *Agents*) do these Villanies.” We see
 here, Gentlemen, in a few Words, not only
 the *Physician*, but the *Philosopher*, and the *Di-*
vine, in my Opinion, happily *conjoin’d*: I wish,
 you might think so too. Please to compare his
Philosophy, with what the *Bishop* has given us
 in his *first Chapter*; where he endeavours to
 account for very many Cases of *Witchcraft*, by
 the Help of *Nature*, and *Art* only; and is of
 Opinion, that we need not, in *any* Cases of
Witchcraft, have Recourse to the *Agency* of

(a) See Page 14, in the following Letter.

Spirits. I'll forbear being tedious; and, before I take my Leave of you, will say something of the *Divinity* Part, which the *Bishop* has given us in his *twelfth* Chapter. The *Philosophical* Account from *Nature* join'd with *Art*, it must be said, often makes one *Merry*: I could wish the *Scotch Advocate* had likewise been made *Wiser* by the *Clergyman's* doing the *best he could* for the poor Woman (lying in *Fail*, under Suspicion of *Witchcraft*) without the Assistance of any *Divinity* at all. There is a great deal of the *Epilepsy*, *Posture-master*, *Slight of Hand*, &c. in which, we may venture to say, *Judge* and *Jury* would not be *deceiv'd* at this Time of Day, should you not succeed in your *Repeal*. The *Question* is gravely put, Why some Persons fall into an *Agony*, if there be a *Cat* in the Room, though they do not see her? The *Scotch Advocate* answers, but is not suffer'd to *distinguish*, or to make any other Sort of *Philosophical* Reply, than that *some* Scent, or *secret* Communication of *Spirits*, is the *common* Ground of all such *Antipathies*; and consequently, is the *Reason* why the *Cat* in the Room, has sometimes that Effect of *People's* falling into an *Agony*. To urge the poor Woman's Case farther, in her Behalf, he reminds the *Scotch Advocate*, that a *Woman* may, many Ways, grow *nasty*, have some rank unfavoury Smell, that may grow to an *Antipathy* to *others*, &c. or there may be *natural Fits*, and *Vapours*, which, his *Lordship* assures us, if they continue, will alter the *Habit* of the *Body*, in so surprizing

zing a Manner, that they will sometimes even *think* themselves *Dead*; at other Times repeat Prayers or Chapters, or speak their Fancies in Verse: Nay, (*what Sir Thomas Brown, the Physician, you are to suppose, knew nothing of, or at least to as little Purpose, as Lady Osborn in her Weekly Packet, not knowing how to make a right Application*) in a deep Fit of *Melancholly*, he puts his *Scotch Advocate*, and *Juryman* in Mind, that such *disorder'd* Persons shall *think* (*not that they are Dead, as before*) but think themselves *Glass*, or a *rotten Stick*, or *Kings* and *Queens*, or even *God* himself; which last, perhaps, you'll allow, borders a little too much upon *Witchcraft*, as it smells too strong of a proud *Luciferian Impulse*). 'Tis hence, says the Reverend *Prelate*, that we come to have so many *Apparitions*, and *Spectres*, and *Sights* of Persons, who are at home, (*a*) at that Time about their lawful Occasions.

The Right Reverend Author assures us, That he has been credibly informed, that the *Organs* of our *Speech* shall be so altered by *Vapours*, that a Man, sitting in his Study (*as we'll suppose*) and often hearing *Hogs* grunting under his *Window*, began at last to *grunt* like them himself; and that another would *crow* like some *Cock-Chickens*: Nay, 'tis well known, says his Lord-

(*a*) His Lordship, I presume, never read *St. Austin*, whom you'll find quoted in the following Letter, more than once, to this very Purpose.

ship, that, upon the Bite of a *mad Dog*, the Person shall *bark*, and *think* himself a *Dog*, and *lap* instead of Drinking. He desires, it may be farther observed, how *strong* they are in such a *disordered* Condition ; that, when the fixed *Spirits* are kindled into a rapid Motion, *Three Men* shall hardly hold any *one* of them ; and if they happen to give a *Skip*, they shall *throw* themselves to a great Height or Length. He would have it observed farther, when they have *convulsive* Motions especially, that they shall draw their *Mouths* all on *one Side*, and (*like an arrant Posture-Master*) shall wring their Arms out of Joint, turn their Eyes inward, and make themselves lamentable Spectacles. His Lordship ventures to affirm, in a more particular Manner, (*which probably Sir Thomas Brown would have put among his Vulgar Errors*) that if *Blood* be extravasated *slowly*, the *Heat* of the Stomach, in a little Time, may form it into *odd Figures* ; which, when they are vomited up, shall seem very Surprizing : Or, if the Stomach has received any *Seed* or *Spawn*, (*suppose after eating a Lobster, or Supping upon Caviere and a Toast*) the Heat and Nourishment may produce the *Animal*. As to *Pins, Needles, and Nails*, his Lordship would have all *Surgeons*, as well as others, take it from him as an undoubted Truth, That, though they have been swallowed long before, they have been known to work their Way to the *outward Parts* of the Body, and to have been taken out of the Persons *Thighs* or *Sides* : (*And therefore not improbable,*

probable, in a Case of pretended Witchcraft, that Pins or Needles, &c. should work out of the Stomach, and thence be taken out at the Mouth) His Lordship's Juryman, who came to advise with the Parson of his Parish, (who otherwise are taken for Conjurers themselves, though here it proved a Mistake) and who thought, at first, that he was summoned upon a very *Difficult* Point, (as he acknowledges himself) begins to take Courage upon such *Advice* as this, and *chimes* in with his Minister, by Way of Improvement upon such philosophical Topicks. — *Why truly, says the Honest Juryman, Physicians meeting with these Things in their Practice, it may be the Reason why they say, that such Persons give least Ear to Stories of Witches.* However, he tells his Minister, *all those undoubted Facts* (as the Juryman calls them) that are told in *History*, are not to be set aside without further Satisfaction than he had yet given him — What's to be done then, Gentlemen? The Clergyman proceeds; we have a great many other Matters to consider of; (*no doubt as weighty as the former*) Too many go such *Lengths* in their *Distempers*, as to manage them in a very *wicked* Manner, and to counterfeit Symptoms that their *Diseases* did not occasion. Though the Clergyman's *Charity* begins now to be called in Question by the Juryman, yet the Matter is made fully to appear thus — In the first Place *Mahomet* did it: And then, the *Maid of Kent*, and, in all Probability, the *Surrey Impostor* (*not the Rabbit-Woman of Godalmine*

Godalmine of famous Memory). There was a Work of Nature, an odd Distemper for the Foundation, (so far, Gentlemen, the Bishop and Sir Thomas Brown agree, you observe) and upon that they grafted such Practices, as deceived great Multitudes; managing their Calamity to serve their own Interest, or Party, or Passion, or Humour; And when some cunning Fellow, who has a Body fit for it, falls into this wicked Way, it is hardly to be believed, how they can distort their own Bodies. (And is not this enough to make them pass for Wizards, especially if, at Night, the Candles should have burnt dim or blue, when such a cunning Fellow is playing his Tricks?) I have read many Instances of such Rascals in sober Authors, &c. It is common with some of them, by long holding of their Breath, to throw themselves into real Fits, when they will: By often moving and stretching (*doucement mon cher Eveque*) the Skin of their Heads, if the Hair be short, they can make it stand upright like an angry Dog; and then they will bark and snarl (like a Clinch of Barnet); nay, run upon all Four, (which you'll say is wonderful) as if they were changed into Mastiffs: They can even swallow their Tongues, foam at the Mouth, and put their Arms, Legs, or Back-bones out of Joint. (Do you not take it for CONJURING, Gentlemen, or DEALING with some FAMILIAR SPIRIT, when you see an impudent Fellow, at this VERY JUNCTURE, in one of your Play-houses (as I am inform'd) whilst you are carrying on the grave Debates

[d] about

about WITCHCRAFT, enabling himself (some how or other) to Dart his Body, in that stupendous Manner, between the several Rounds of an ordinary LADDER; and, after placing his Head upon the TOP of it, coming down, without any visible Assistance, in like Manner?) They can buff up their Bellies, suck up their Breath, and draw in their Guts, till the By-standers may feel the Back-bone. (*Doucement, Encore. I profess, Gentlemen, I am perfectly Ignorant, whence our Right Reverend, got all this KNOWLEDGE, or where his SOBER AUTHORS are to be met with*): Indeed he informs us of one, once of his own Parish, that he knew to be an honest Man, (and therefore could not deal with a FAMILIAR SPIRIT: But then, his Lordship says, This honest Man was able to thrust a Pin, up to the Head, in a hollow Place of his Arm, without Bleeding; and he assures us (*in which I can give Evidence myself*) that others can change their Voices so, that they shall not be like their own: Nay, they can do it so cleverly, their Lips hardly moving, as if the Voice (says he) came from their own Fundament: (*Witness the late Jesuitical Blacksmith, some where about Leicester Fields*). Cardinal Mazarin, notwithstanding all his POPERY) to stop the growing Evil, says his Lordship, of the Accusations of Witches, in 1634, threaten'd some of those reputed Witches with severe Punishments. (But this Offence, you are now taking Notice of, will, to the great Joy of many of the old Women, be made none at all; and, if we are rightly inform'd

form'd *without Doors*, the *whole* Affair of *Witchcraft* is to be discarded, as a Relict of *Popery*, without any Distinction made, as to the *sober Belief of good and bad Spirits*; which is acknowledged by our Author, to be an *Essential Part* of every good Christian's Faith). And when this Affair of *Witchcraft*, was laid before the *University of Montpelier*; (an Affair purely of a *Religious Nature*, abstracted from the *Civil Punishment*; and, if I might ask; what, if the *Concurrence* of an *English Convocation* had been had, in making such a *General Repeal*?) one Question propos'd, was this, says the *Bishop*, " Whether Barking or Crying like
 " a Dog, that seem'd to come from the *Fun-*
 " *dament*, rather than the *Throat*, was a sure
 " Sign of a *Demoniack*." And the Answer which the *University* gives, is (and I hope it will be consider'd of in a favourable Manner, since they were profess'd *Papists*, in the *Preamble* of your *Bill*); " That human Industry,
 " can go so far in Imitation, that it is seen
 " every Day, that Persons Learn to Imitate,
 " in great Perfection, the *Way*, the *Cry*, the
 " Note, of all Kind of Creatures; and do it
 " so, as one shall perceive no Motion in their
 " Lips.

It would be inexcusable to trouble you any longer, *Gentlemen*, with this Way and Manner of *decrying Witchcraft*; and I'll venture to Prophecy, such Sort of *Arguing* will not be made use of in your own *Learned Debates* upon the same Subject. I therefore chuse

to proceed, in considering his Lordship's *Scripture Account of Witchcraft*; whence you may justly *expect* to find more Satisfaction in the Affair you are about. Now, in his 12th Chapter, he gives you this Account (you know) of the *Divine Laws*, relating to *Witchcraft*, *i. e.* to any Sort of *Communications* with, or *Operations* upon the *Intellectual*, and *Corporeal World*; (for so, I suppose, the *Question* will be consider'd in your *two Houses*, if any *Debates* should *happen* to arise about it.) His Lordship sets out, in declaring, That 'tis a *Point of very great Difficulty*, (and therefore, I am in Hopes, an *absolute* Repeal of the *Statute* will not pass without *some* Difficulty likewise): "Nor will he pretend to make himself *Umpire*: But this he pretends to do, *viz.* To offer some few Things, that he thinks are manifest, and may keep us from pressing too hard against our Neighbour's *Lives*." I shall beg Leave Humbly to offer something likewise to your *discerning* Judgments, as to the same Affair; and, if *afterwards* any Thing may be thought wanting, to give you full *Satisfaction*, I will not *quit* this *Chapter* of the *Bishop's*, till, in my own *private* Judgment at least, I have *given* it you: And I think it the more Reasonable for me to do this, as well on Account of the *Witch of Endor's* being suffer'd by the Almighty to have such a *Communication* with the *Intellectual World*; as also on Account of those *other Appearances*, and *Communications*, that are treated of in the following
Letter;

Letter; many of which happen'd some Ages after *Christianity* was establish'd and want no Authority to support the Truth of them, without having Recourse to Mr. *Glanvil*, or any *Modern* Authors. *Grotius*, in his Note upon *Exodus* xxii. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to Live*, observes, That the same Word is used by the *Lxx*. *Greek* Interpreters, in their Interpretation of the *Hebrew*, that *St. Paul* uses, (*Gal. v. 20.*) where he forbids *Witchcraft*. Our Learned *H. Ainsworth*, observes farther, that the *Greek* Word used by the *Lxx* stands also in the *Plural* Number, (*παυαίαι*) implying, that though *Witchcraft* is most in Use among that Sex, yet, that the *Man-Witch*, or *Sorcerer*, is included. And the *Hebrews*, says he, Remark thus: (a) "Whosoever is guilty of Death, the Judges, that do not put him to Death, they break an *Affirmative* Precept, but Transgress not against a *Prohibitive*, saving of the *Witch*: For, if they put not him to Death, they Transgress a *Prohibition*." The same Learned *Annotator* says, in another Place (*Ex. vii. 11.*) That *Sorcerers* or *Witches*, are such Persons as Bewitch the Senses and Minds of Men; by changing the Forms of Things to another *Hue*. From the *Hebrew*, *Cashaph*, (which signifies *changing* or *turning*) the *Greeks* have form'd their *Βασαίνω*, and the *Latines*, *Fascino*, which is to *Bewitch*; and is used for

(a) Maimon in *Sanhedrin*, Cap. 14. Sect. 3.

unlawful devilish *Arts* and *Artizans*, such as God's (*Judicial*) Law condemneth, and punisheth with *Death*. St. Paul (2. *Tim.* iii. 8.) sets down the *Names* of the *Chiefs* in *Sorceries*, as they were kept in the *Jews* private *Records*: And from *Pliny* we learn, (*a*) that the *Memory* of these *Sorcerers* continued among the *Heathens*, though their *Names* were *corrupted*. *Origen* against *Celsus*, (*b*) shews how *Numenius*, a *Pythagorian* Philosopher, speaketh of *Moses's* Miracles in *Egypt*, and his Resistance by *Joannes*, and *Mambres*, Magicians. *Apuleius* also, a *Latin* Philosopher, (*c*) mentions one *Joannes*, among the chief Magicians. If *Epiphanius* (as quoted by a truly Excellent, Learned, and Judicious *English* Bishop, (*d*) may be heeded by you, Gentlemen, in this Affair: He tells us, from one that was an Eye-witness, of a *Magical* Operation, used by a *Jew*, to procure the Love of a *Christian* Woman; and that she was preserved from the *δυναμὶς φαρμακείας*, (the same Word that St. Paul uses, (*Gal.* v. 20.) from the *Power* of his *Witchcraft*, by the Seal of *Christ*, (as he calls the *Sign* of the *Cross*) wherewith she fortify'd herself, at the first Attempt made upon her. (*e*) Such wicked Wretches, says Bishop *Patrick*, did a World of other Mis-

(*a*) *Nat. Hist.* L. 30. C. 1.

(*b*) *Lib.* 4.

(*c*) *Apol.* 2.

(*d*) Bishop *Patrick*, on *Exod.* xxii. 18.

(*e*) *Eph. Her.* 30. 7. 8.

chief, and therefore were to be *put to Death*, whether they were Men or Women. One of the *Hebrew Doctors*, as quoted by the Bishop, gives this Reason why *Witches* were not to live; *viz.* “ Because they directly thwarted God most “ Blessed, who made all Things, when he created them, for such and such Purposes; which “ they perverted, and by Devices of their own, “ made to serve other Ends, which God never “ designed. ” But this they could not do, says the good Bishop, without the *Help of evil Spirits* ; and therefore their Crime consisted in entering into a *Familiarity*, says he, and a League with them, whose Assistance, upon such Occasion they invoked ; which was in Effect, a *renouncing* of God. This was an Impiety, goes on the *venerable* Prelate, which had overspread the whole World, especially the *Eastern* Parts of it. And, as for the *Romans*, we find a *Law*, as old as the Twelve Tables, against *Witchcraft* ; and the like Law obtained amongst the *Athenians* : For the *Greeks* were extremely addicted to it ; especially in *Thessaly*. I need not inform you, Gentlemen, (and I am ready to suppose it) what the *Sin* is, in the very *next* Verse to *this*, that I have chosen to set in its full Light ; and which in its *Punishment* is still justly *Capital* in the Eye of our Law. The *Statutes* are both taken from the Judicial Code of the *Hebrews*, which we often make our *Example*, in framing our Laws. The *latter* Sin is so infamous, and such a Dishonour to Nature, and the Author of Nature (as the Bishop, from
Corn.

Conr. Pellicanus, glosses upon it) “ That it was
 “ not fit such a Person should live upon the
 “ Face of the Earth, but *die* without Mer-
 “ cy. (a)

Pray tell us, Gentlemen, in your *Preamble*,
 why the *Punishment* should not be proportiona-
 ble to the *Offence*, if it be a *real one*, as I am
 willing to think, you take it to be ; and which
 my Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, and other great
 Lawyers, do all acknowledge to be an *Offence*
 immediately against the *Divine Majesty* ? Be
 pleased to consider, if your *Zeal* has not car-
 ried you too far, whether there has not been
 (and how soon it may be *again*; the wisest can-
 not tell) as unquestionable Evidence for *Fami-*
liarity held by *human Kind* with *Spirits*, tho’
invisible, as there has been for *that* between
Man and *Beast* ? Whether it be reasonable (even
 as to the *Punishment*) to *repeal* the *one* Statute
 rather than the *other* ? And whether what you
 are so doing, be not in Contradiction to the *Le-*
gislation of the *wisest* Kingdoms on Earth ? My
 Lord Chief Justice *Hale* certainly thought so,
 when he *directed* the *Jury*, after the Tryal of
Witches, already taken Notice of, “ That there
 “ were such Creatures as *Witches*, he said, he
 “ made no Doubt at all, and *that* for these *two*
 “ *Reasons* ; For *first*, the *Holy Scriptures* have
 “ affirmed so much. *2dly*, The *Wisdom* of all
 “ Nations (whatever the *more knowing* Bishop

(a) *Exod.* xxii. 19.

“ has alledged to the contrary) had provided *Laws* against such Persons, which is an Argument of their *Confidence* of such a *Crime* : And such has been the Judgment of *this* Kingdom ; as appears (*since the Times of Popery*) by that *Act* of Parliament, which hath proved *Punishments* (says that great Man) *proportionable* to the *Quality* of the *Offence*. ” And no Judge ever better enforced the Observance of a *Law*, than he did, in those unexceptionable Words — “ *For to condemn the Innocent, and to let the Guilty go free, are both an Abomination to the Lord.* ”

If I might not grow troublesome, Gentlemen, I would now proceed in justifying *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor* ; which, perhaps, you may not judge *fully* enough spoken to in the following Letter ; and I chuse rather to do this, both because it will best serve to *remove* some Objections, that may possibly remain with you, taken from Bishop *Hutchinson's* 12th Chapter ; as also to repel the *low Wit* and *Raillery*, such as Mr. *Webster* the *Physician*, and others have display'd in their Discourses upon *Witchcraft* in general.

I have not, in the following *Letter*, taken Notice of Bishop *Patrick's* Opinion of *Samuel's Appearance* ; which I shall now do — and, tho' I have thought proper to *differ* from that *Great Man* in some Things relating to *it*, (which I must now, Gentlemen, humbly submit to your penetrating and *Impartial* Judgment) yet we shall be *both* found, in the main Point, sufficient, I

hope, to enervate Bishop *Hutchinson's Scriptural Notions of Witchcraft*. (a) Bishop *Patrick* then, says upon the Matter thus; "Interpreters are very much divided, (b) some imagining, it was *Samuel* himself that appeared; others, a Spectre, which, by the Power of the Devil, appeared in his Likeness. Several of the Ancient Fathers are of the former Opinion, and particularly *Justin Martyr*; who, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, alledges this as a Demonstration of the Immortality of the Soul; and most of the Roman Church are now of the same Mind: But *Tertullian* says, (a) God forbid, we should believe the Soul of any Holy Man, much less of a Prophet, should be brought up by the Power of the Devil. Of this Persuasion are a great Number of the Ancients, particularly *St. Cyril of Alexandria*; who thinks it the greatest Absurdity to believe, that a wretched Woman should call up *Samuel's* Soul; the Demons, with whom such People deal, having no such Power. And so *St. Jerom* calls this *Samuelis Phantasma*. Yet there are vast Numbers of modern Authors, who think, that, by God's Permission or Dispensation, the Soul of *Samuel* might appear; " (cloathed in some proper Vehicle) which *Sir John Marsham* himself

(a) See the following Letter from p. 24 to 42, &c.

(b) See his Comment on 1 Sam. xxviii. 12.

(c) Lib. de Anima, Cap. 57.

takes not to be improbable. (a) But the very Letter of the Text *seems* to me to be against this Opinion, which speaks of bringing him up, and his coming up out of the *Earth*; whereas, if it had been *Samuel*, he shou'd rather have *come down* from Heaven. This *Apparition* therefore (*as I take it*) was one of those *fallacious Spirits*, whom *Porphyry* speaks of, (b) “ who put on any Shape, and counterfeit the Gods and Demons and the Souls of the Dead. ” Which a very learned Person (c) hath confirmed by this Reason. which to me seems very solid, *viz.* that since God was not pleased to answer *Saul* (as he confessed) either by Prophets, or by Dreams, or by *Urim* and *Thummim*, but had withdrawn himself wholly from him; it is not probable, that he would send *Samuel* himself to him from the Dead, (and none else could do it) and that at the Call of a *Witch*; when he wou'd not favour him with any *Revelation* from a Living Prophet, or any other Way.

The learned Dr. *H. More*, contemporary with Bishop *Patrick*, appears, from some *Letters* of his, preserv'd amongst the *Papers* of one of his Ingenious *Correspondents* deceas'd, and from thence lately publish'd, to have had to do with such Adversaries of *Witchcraft*, who by their Writings had openly disavow'd their *Belief* of

(a) See his *Chron.* Canon XIII.

(b) Lib. 2. de *Abst.*

(c) *John Wagenfeil*, Confut. Carin. *Lipmani*.

Spirits, (a) and had, moreover, to support their *Notions*, ventured to *Appeal* to the Holy *Scriptures* themselves; and *that* with plausible *Arguments* and *seeming Abilities*, in their *Criticisms* and *Interpretations* of *them*; the better to seduce the *unwary*, and to gain the greatest Number of *Profelytes*. Now, what says the learned Dr. (Gentlemen) to these Things? He does (in a Postscript) first of all observe, as to the Words *Witch* and *Wizard*, that, in the primary or natural *Notation* of them, they signify no more than a *Wise Man* or a *Wise Woman*; (b) which occasions Bishop *Hutchinson*, in his *Scriptural Account of Witchcraft* (c) “ to make this *shrewd* “ *Observation*, viz. One may be pretty sure, “ that the *Law* (*Exod. xxii. 18.*) was not, *Thou* “ *shalt not suffer a Wise Woman to live.* ” And the good *Bishop*, instead of *comparing* and *considering* the various *Texts*, as they stand in the *Original*, (where the *Words*, relating to *Witch*, *Wizard*, *Sorcerer*, &c. occur, and plainly shew us, that both the *Literal* and *Metaphorical* Import of the *Words* are to be regarded by us) is pleased to amuse his Reader with various *Translations*; which I don’t see, can possibly do his *Cause* any *real Service*, but rather the contrary. And I can, moreover, affirm, from *Tindal’s*

(a) Mr. *Webster* in particular, in his *Display of Witchcraft*.

(b) *Ælfricus* in his *Saxon Grammar*, reads it *Wicca Ariolus*: inde *Wizlian*, says he, *incantare*, vid. *Skinner*, in voce.

(c) Cap. 12. p. 183.

Translation revis'd by *Mathewes* 1551, now ly-
 ing before me, (if *they* may be allow'd to know
 any Thing of the *Hebrew* Text) that the Words
 are " *Thou shalt not suffre a Witch to live.*
 " But the *Bishop* does not see, he says, if we
 " take the *Original* Words, or the *Translations*
 " which Way we will, that we can venture to
 " lay much *Weight* upon them. " How then?
 A *Witch*, says he, (*literally understood*) is no
 more than a *knowing* Woman — *Weet* (in the
Saxon) to *Know*, answering exactly to the *Latin*
Word Saga, according to *that* of *Festus*, *SAGÆ*
dictæ Anus quæ multa sciunt. But *Use*, questi-
 onless, appropriated the *Word* to such a Kind of
 Skill and Knowledge, as was out of the common
 Road, or *extraordinary*. Nor did this *Peculia-*
rity imply in it any unlawfulness. But there
 was after, a further Restriction, and most proper
 of all, and in which alone, now a Days the
 Words *Witch* and *Wizard* are used; and that
 is, for one that has the *Knowledge* or *Skill* of
 doing or telling Things in an extraordinary or
præternatural Way; and *that* in Vertue of ei-
 ther an exprefs or implicit Socation or *Confe-*
deracy with some Evil Spirit. This is a true
 and adequate Definition of a *Witch* or *Wizard*.

The Words of *Scripture* generally descanted
 upon, in Opposition to the established Notion
 of *Witchcraft*, are, *Deut. xviii. 10, 11.* *There*
shall not be found among you any one that useth
Divination, or an Observer Times, or an En-
chanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Con-
sulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a
Necro-

Necromancer. Now when *Saul* says to the *Witch of Endor*, *Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the Familiar Spirit, or by the Python, &c.* (1 *Sam.* xxviii. 8.) (a) the same Word is used for *Divining* in both Places; the comparing of which Places only, shew the Word *Divination* must be understood, as implying one Sort of *Witchcraft*, or an *Operation* surpassing *natural Knowledge* or *human Sagacity*. Your Patience, Gentlemen, I fear, will not allow me to dilate and apply, as *Dr. H. More* does, upon this Subject; and therefore shall study *Brevity*; though I don't think it *always* good, as the *Poet* says it is; especially, where *Divine Truths* are to be cleared up in the strongest Manner. Some, who have *insulted* over the *supposed* Ignorance of our *English* Translators, when they render the *Original* (*Menachesh*) *Enchanter*, only shew, that they wanted that *Learning* and *Judgment*, which the *others* had. *Charming* and *Enchanting* are acknowledged by them to be all *one* in the *Original Import* of the Words; and therefore here the Word (*Menachesh*) may properly denote such Persons as kill Serpents by their *charming*, from the Word (*Nachash*) which signifies a *Serpent*; from whence comes (*Nichesh*) to *kill* Serpents, or make away with them. For a *Verb* in *Pibel*, observes *Dr. More*, has sometimes (especially when it is formed from a *Noun*) a *contrary* Signification. For Instance, the same Word used

(a) קסומי נח לי בארוב.

for *he sinned*, shall also sometimes signify, *he made Satisfaction for Sin*; and so here from the Word (*Nachash*) a Serpent, is made or rendered *He delivered from Serpents*, i. e. either by killing or driving away by *Enchantment*. And therefore there seems to have been a great deal of Skill and Depth of Judgment in our *English Translators*, in this Respect; especially when that of *Augur* or *Soothsayer*, which the Lxx call *οὐρανόσκοπος* (there being so many *harmless Kinds* of it) might seem less suitable with this *black List*. Our old *English Translators* read the latter Part of the 11th Verse thus, *That counceleth with Spirites, or a Propheciar, or that asketh the Advyce of the Dead. All that do such Things are an Abhomynacyon unto the Lorde*. Now, to rid Serpents by a *Charm*, is above the Power of Nature; and therefore an Indication of *one* that has the Assistance of some *Invisible Spirit*, to help him in *this*, as well as other Instances of *Witchcraft*.

As to the Word (*Mecasseph*) which our Old *English Translations* (as I have taken Notice already) render *Witchcraft* or *Witch*; 'Tis to be observ'd, the Words in (*Deut. xviii. 10 11.*) do all contain but *several Denominations* of a *Witch*; who may have several more *Properties* than *one* Name intimates: Whence it is no Wonder, that *Translators* do not render them always alike. But, (as in our *Common*

Law) so many *Names* for this *End* are reckon'd up here in this Clause of the *Law* of *Moses*, that the *Sence* may be more sure, and leave no Room for *Evasion*. And, indeed, had our *Statute* of 1 *Jac.* (now going to be *Repeal'd*) no Manner of Foundation from *that Judicial Law* to support it; I must entirely agree with you, Gentlemen, that the Continuance of it would be justly interpreted a *Law* of extreme *Severity*, or, rather, *Cruelty*; to punish with *Death* a poor *Hocus-Pocus Vagrant*, that has, you know, a proper Punishment allotted him already by the *Common Law*; whilst *Endorian Witches* are now to be left as *free* (if I am rightly inform'd) by this *Repeal*, in doing real *Mischief* from the *Intellectual World*, as the *Lancashire* ones (according to the *English Proverb*) are said to do it naturally in the *Material*.

Dr. *More* observes, in his *Postscript*, that our witty *Displayers of Witchcraft* are very much *mistaken* in their Writings about it, as often as they pretend to give us the Meaning of the *Original Words* (*Sboel Obb*) which our *English Translation*, at this Day, renders a *Consultant with Familiar Spirits*. (a) The *Lxx.* have render'd it a *Ventriloquist*, or one, whose Words seem to come from the Bottom of his Belly: (b) And therefore, according to *their* rendring of it, the Words in the *Hebrew* must necessarily signify him that has this *Familiar Spirit*; and

(a) *Deut.* xviii. 11.

(b) *ישאעל בשר*.

consequently the Words (*Schoel Obb*) are to be understood of the *Witch*, or *Wizard* himself, that asks *Counsel of his Familiar*; and does, by Vertue of him, give *Answers* to others. Dr. More thinks it probable, that the Reason of the *Name* of the *Hebrew Word* (*Obb*) might be taken *first* from *that Spirit*, which was in the *Body* of the *Party*, and *swell'd* it to a *Protuberancy*, like the *Side* of a *Bottle*: But *afterwards*, says he, without any Relation to *that Circumstance*, the Word (*Obb*) came to signify as much as *Pytho*, (as the Word *Pytho* itself, though at *first* it took its Name from *Pythii Vates*, came *afterwards* to signify no more than a *Spirit of Divination* in general, a *Spirit* that tells *hidden Things*, or *Things to come*. The Words *Obb* and *Pytho* do also agree in this; that they both signify, either the *Divinatory Spirit* itself, or the *Party* that has that *Spirit*. But *here*, in the Words, (*Schoel Obb*) they being render'd by the *Lxx.* a *Ventriloquist*, (*a*) *Obb* is necessarily understood of the *Spirit* itself, as *Pytho* in the *xvith* of the *Acts*, ver. 16. if we read as *Is. Casaubon* does, ($\piνεύμα πύθωνα$). But if, $\piύθωνος$, it may be understood *either Way*. It is said, " *St. Paul* being
 " *grieved, turned, and said to that Spirit, I*
 " *Command thee, in the Name of Jesus Christ,*
 " *to come out of her, (b) and he came out at*
 " *the same Hour;*" which signifies as plainly as

(a) ἐξασπίμυθον.

(b) ἐξελθὲν ἀτ' αὐτῆς.

any Thing can be signify'd, that this *Pytho*, or Spirit of Divination, or this *Obb*, was in her: For, as the *Spanish Proverb* has it, *Nothing can come out of the Sack, that was not in the Sack*: Nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unless it was a Spirit *distinct* from her. But, what *Prophaneness*, mix'd with the most consummate *Impudence*, do some of the *Free-Thinkers* of this last Age discover, when they talk of *this Passage* in the *Sacred Writings*; not scrupling to make this *Pytho*, in the *Maid* there mention'd, nothing but a *wicked Humour* of Cheating, and Couzening Divination; and adding, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that *Maid*, than the *Seven Devils* out of *Mary Magdalen*; which they would have to be understood, *only* of her several Vices? This surely can be call'd nothing less than *Blaspheming* against the *Spirit of Christ* in *St. Paul*, and *St. Luke*.

'Tis plain, in the Case of the *Witch* of *Endor*, that the *Original Word* (*Obb*) signifies, both the *Spirit* itself that *divines*, and *him* or *her* also that has it. *I pray thee Divine unto me by the Familiar Spirit*, says *Saul*; *by the Pytho* or *אוב*. 'Tis by the *Lxx* (as I have observed already) render'd, *ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριῳ*, i. e. by *that Spirit* that sometimes goes into the Body of the Party, and thence gives *Answers*. Here, indeed, in the *Mosaick Law* (already spoken to, *Deut. xviii.*) it only signifies a *Familiar Spirit*. (a)

(a) We have no one Word adequate, in the *English Language*, to express *fully* the Meaning of the Word *אוב*.

But,

But, say *Saul's Servants*, " Here is a *Woman* that hath such a *Spirit* — there the Word (*Obb*) must needs signify both the *Spirit* itself, and the *Woman* of *Endor* that was the Owner or Possessor of it. I dare not entertain the least Thought, Gentlemen, that you have any of the *Free-thinking* Qualities, that are so prevalent, at this Time of Day, in Relation to *Subjects* of this Nature; and must believe, that, in the *Preamble* of your Bill (which I have not seen) you have taken all possible Care to guard against the Suggestions of a *censorious* Age; by supporting the *Christian Doctrine*, and declaring to the World, (as Bishop *Hutchinson* does to his *Right Honourable Chiefs*) *That the sober Belief of Good and Bad Spirits is an essential Part of every good Christian's Faith*. However, it must be said, the *contrary* Temper is too obvious amongst us *without Doors*; and this has induc'd me to trouble you in such a Manner; though, I now hear, what I have to offer, comes *too late*, and there seems no other *Reason* possibly to be assign'd for it, but, that my unknown *Printer* sides with the *Majority*, in *procrastinating* the Birth of this little Pamphlet. Such has been the *Prophaneness* of some Writers against *Witchcraft* in the last Age. (particularly as to the *Sacred Passage* now before us) that, instead of a *Familiar Spirit*, they would have the *Hebrew* (*Bagnalath Obb*) to have no other Meaning, than that *Saul's Servants* directed their Master to a *Mistress* of the *Bottle*. (Such a Place, where the daily *fatal Rendezvous* are, amongst ourselves, call'd the

Gin-Shops.) Who, (says Dr. More) but the *Master* of the *Bottle*, or, rather, of whom the *Bottle* had become *Master*, and made his Wits excessive *muddy* as well as *frothy*, cou'd ever stumble upon such a *foolish* Interpretation? Because the Word, (*Obb*) forsooth, says the Dr. in *one* Place of the *Scripture*, signifies a *Bottle*, it must therefore signify *so* here; and it must be the *Instrument* too, out of which this cheating *Queen* of *Endor* (as the Writer *sharply* expresses himself) *did whisper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell.* (a) And did *she* not, I beseech you (says Dr. More) put her *Nib* also into it, (the *Bottle*) sometimes; as tis said of a certain *Bird*, when, by putting her *Nib* into a *Reed*, she *cries* like a *Butter-bump*? certainly such a *witty-two-Edged-Sword* *Writer* might as well have interpreted those Words (*Bagnalath Obb*) of the great *Tun* of *Heidelberg*, (that *Tom Coriat* takes such special Notice of) as of the *Bottle*.

I will detain you no longer, Gentlemen, even shou'd you have Patience to read thus far; it may, perhaps, lead you on to go farther, and to read what the *Lady* has been told likewise in the following *Letter*, writ some Years ago. A late noble *Duke* (and, I hope, his *Illustrious* *Descendant*, will now have some *Regard* to the *Words*) was thus *address'd* by an ingenious Pen, in hopes of having a *Christian Prin-*

(a) *Webster's Display*, p. 129, 165.

ciple better defended against the *Sadducean* one.
 “ I know, my Lord, the *Essay* is *seasonable*,
 “ and contains Things which relate to our *big-*
 “ *gest* Interest; the Design being to secure some
 “ of the *Outworks* of *Religion*, and to regain
 “ a Parcel of Ground, which *bold* Infidelity
 “ hath invaded. And I cannot but observe
 “ *sadly*, that, whilst the *Seets* are venting their
 “ *Animosities* against each other, and scribbling
 “ for their *Conceits*, and the *particular Advan-*
 “ *tages* of their Way; they don't perceive,
 “ that *Atheism* comes on by large *Strides*, and
 “ enters the *Breaches* they have made; and
 “ which *they* are still endeavouring to make
 “ *wider*, if *they* can. Sober and considerate
 “ Men see the *formidable Danger*, and have
 “ as strenuously endeavoured, and still en-
 “ deavour to *maintain the Walls*, while the Fac-
 “ tions within are known to be *very busy*, and
 “ so *divided*, that they cannot attend the *des-*
 “ *perate Hazard*, and will not *joyn in a com-*
 “ *mon Defence*. I have tried to make *good* one
 “ of the *Forts*, upon which the Enemy has made
 “ *impetuous Assaults*, and hope for Success. I
 “ am very little concerned for the small *Ped-*
 “ *laries*, that some Mens *Fondness* calls *Reli-*
 “ *gion*; by which that sacred Thing has been
 “ exposed to a great deal of *Contempt* and *Disbo-*
 “ *nour*. But yet, my Lord, I think it my Du-
 “ ty to have a *Zeal* for those great and certain
 “ Matters, upon which our *Hopes*, as to the
 “ *other World*, are grounded. The *Evidence*
 “ that is given us from the *Attributes* of God,
 the

“ the *Phænomena* of *Providence*, and the *Nature*
 “ of our *Souls*, should be sufficient to convince
 “ any, but those who will *stupidly* believe, that
 “ they shall die like *Beasts*, that they may
 “ live like them. There are some *Arguments*
 “ that contain very plain *Evidence* concerning
 “ *Witches* and *Apparitions* ; but then, as they
 “ require an *unbiassed* Way of *Thinking*, and
 “ some Degree of *Attention*, 'tis not to be
 “ wonder'd at, if they take no Hold upon the
 “ *whistling* Spirits, that are not used to *con-*
 “ *sider*.

“ My Lord, if we make our *compute* like
 “ *Men*, and do not suffer ourselves to be abused
 “ by the *Flatteries* of *Sense*, and the *deceitful*
 “ *Gaieties*, that steal us away from *God*, and
 “ from *ourselves* : There is nothing can render
 “ the Thoughts of this *odd* Life *tolerable*, but
 “ the Expectation of *another*. And wise Men
 “ have said, that they would not live a *Mo-*
 “ *ment*, if they thought they were not to *live*
 “ *again*. This, perhaps, some may take to be
 “ the *discontented* Paradox of a *melancholick*,
 “ *vex'd*, and of *mean* Condition, that is *pinch'd*
 “ by the *Straitness* of Fortune, and envies the
 “ *Heights* of others Felicity and Grandeur :
 “ But, by that Time those, that they judge so,
 “ have spent the *Heats* of *frolick* Youth ; and
 “ have pass'd over the several *Stages* of Vanity ;
 “ when they come to sit down, and make *sober*
 “ Reflections upon their *Pleasures* and *Pursuits*,
 “ and sum up the Account of all that is *with*
 “ them, and *before* them ; I doubt not, but
 “ their

“ their *considering* Thoughts will incline them
 “ to make *Solomon's Conclusion* ; and find, that
 “ 'tis but a *Misery*, if we were to *live* for
 “ *nothing else*.

Whilst we are passing thro' this *Vale of Misery*, Gentlemen, may no *evil Angels* be sent amongst us to disturb our *Temporal Peace* ; may the Almighty rather give his *good Angels Charge* over us ; to keep us in all our *Ways* ; so shall no *Evil* happen unto us ; neither shall any *Plague* come nigh our *Dwelling* : Our *Fruit* shall not be given to the *Caterpillar*, nor our *Labour* to the *Grafshopper* : The *Enemy* shall not be able to do us *Violence* ; nor shall the *Son of Wickedness* hurt us. This short Prayer (never, perhaps, more *seasonable* than at present) is founded upon that undoubted Truth, which the *Royal Psalmist* has laid down (*Psalms xxxiv. 7.*) *The Angel of the Lord tarrieth or encampeth round about them that fear him.* I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Obedient Humble Servant.

Pisteuo-Daimon.

Post-

POSTSCRIPT.

GENTLEMEN,

IT would be highly obliging, and much for the Satisfaction, not only of your *Electors*, but of *Thousands* besides : If you would please (some Way or other) to communicate your *Reasons*, for bringing in your Bill ; by answering the following short *Queries* ;

- I. Whether *Punishments* should not be Proportionable to the Nature or Quality of the *Offence* ?
- II. Whether *Witchcraft*, and *dealing with Familiar Spirits*, was not, by the *Judicial Law* of *Moses*, an *Offence* immediately against the *Divine Majesty* ?
- III. Whether all *wise Nations* (as Lord Chief Justice *Hale* told the *Jury*) have not Proceeded hitherto upon the Foot of that *Judicial Law*, in providing proper *Punishments* of such *Offence* ?
- IV. Whether our own *Judges*, at present, have not as great *Abilities* for discovering an *Impostor*, and well executing the *Law* in the late *Statute* of 1 *Jac.* C. 12. (should there have been Occasion for it) as any of those
wise

wise Nations, in the Execution of their Laws ?

V. Whether there be any *Reason* to be assign'd, why the *Judicial* Law against *Witchcraft*, &c. should not *still* be in *Force*, as well as *that* against *Buggery*, *Exod. xxii. 19. ?*

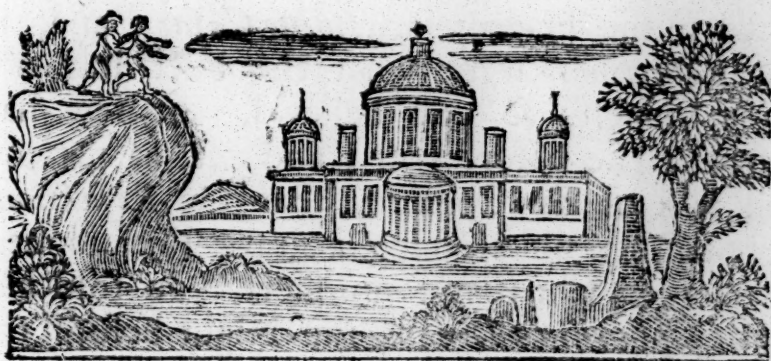
VI. What *Reason* there can be, for more *Tenderness* now, in punishing an *Offence* with *Death*, where the *Honour* of the Almighty is manifestly concern'd, than there was, during the *Jewish* Dispensation, and hath been *since* ?

GENTLEMEN,

I will not be troublesome in putting any more *Queries* — You may convey your *Reasons* to us in any obscure Manner, you shall condescend to do it *in* — We shall not much mind the *Canal* or *Conduit*, by which they come to us ; and it will be no small Satisfaction to know *them*, should *they* happen (as very likely they will) to *cross* our own *private Judgment*. Only believe, that at *present* our *Scruples* are *strong* upon us *without Doors* ; however *merry* you may have made yourselves about SPIRITS in St. *Stephen's* Chapel. We are afraid, that, by taking away the *Punishment*, you may have left the *Doctrine* to *shift* for itself in Peoples Minds ; had we not (as *Protestants*) our *Bibles* to support *it*. Besides, we are under no small Concern, lest our *Christianity* at *Home* may, even in this Respect, have a *worse Name* given it,

it, than *it* has hitherto had, *Abroad*. We are not ignorant, how easy and fashionable it is to act the *Droll*, in laughing at the Stories of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. The solemn *Vanities* of *Superstition*, and the *Tales* of *Old Women*, are what most of us are no *Strangers* to, and have generally as great an *Aversion* to them : But, Gentlemen, there's a Time (you very well know) to be *serious* ; and, after all such *affected* Merriments in our Conversation ; it ought to be remember'd, That our *Reason* should not always be an obedient *Servant* to a *wanton Fancy*. I never yet could observe a *Droll* to be a close *Reasoner* ; and *they* often deserve our *Pity* more than an *Answer*, when they sometimes attempt to make a *Just Inference*. Of all our *Faculties*, our *Judgment* seems to be of the *slowest* Growth ; which is the Reason, in many Things, when Age and Experience has ripened *it*, that we are said to grow *wiser* ; especially in Matters of *real Moment* : Whilst, for Want of due Attention to *Men* and *Things*, there may sometimes be found *Grey Hairs* discovering *Boysish* Imaginations. And when our Imaginations grow *loose*, and know no Bounds, we soon find ourselves *apt* to launch out, and to treat the *sacred Page* itself, too often, in a *ludicrous* Manner. In short, This increases our *Fears*, Gentlemen, and makes us the more solicitous for asking your Assistance ; in answering the *forementioned Queries*, and in reconciling the *seeming* Difficulties with *sound Reasoning* and the *Word* of God.

F I N I S.



M A D A M,



WHEN I had last the Honour of waiting on you, I found you full of Thought ; your Elbow gently reclin'd on the inimitable *Shakespear*. I soon guess'd (what you was pleased to tell me) that you had been conversing very lately with that Gentleman : For your Imagination was hard at Work ; the Ideas which the Poet had convey'd were still strong and lively ; and the Pleasure and the Pain, seem'd to have taken their Turns, and to have made a very deep Impression.

I remember my Curiosity soon grew troublesome, and you as kindly satisfied it, in letting me know, that it was very true — you was full of Thought ; and, as you easily imagin'd, the Intenseness of it was not to be conceal'd : But assuring me withal, that the *Passions* had nothing to do in the Matter ; that you had been reflecting

B

flecting upon a Piece of the *Roman* Story contain'd in the Tragedy of *Julius Caesar* ; and, as the *Reflections* were what the Poet had not made himself, so you believ'd, but few had done the like before you ; and yet, at present, you was of an Opinion, that the *Reflections* were neither unbecoming a grave Philosopher, nor a good Christian : In short, you told me, that *Calphurnia's Dream*, the Night before the Death of her Husband *Julius Caesar*, and his *Appearance* afterwards to *Brutus* in the Fields of *Philippi*, was what had engrossed your Thoughts, and occasioned such *Reflections* : For, as you believ'd those Passages were no *Fiction* of the Poet, but *Facts* well supported in History, so you as firmly concluded, that the Almighty had not been such a Stranger to the *Heathen* Part of the World, as might generally be conceived ; that such *Communications* were to you convincing, that He had all along been, not only the God of the *Jews* but of the *Gentiles* also ; and that there were *ministring* Spirits at *Rome* and *Athens*, as well as at *Jerusalem* ; to execute his Will, to reward and to punish in such Manner, as might best serve the Ends of the great Governor of the World.

I then took the Liberty of reminding you, (and you seem'd to take it with Pleasure) of another *Heathen* Lady, *Pilate's Wife* ; a Lady, though in Quality inferior to *Calphurnia*, yet, in other Respects, much superior ; for she *saw* the Redeemer of Mankind in Person, about fourscore Years after the Death of *Julius Caesar* ;
 and

and yet did not *truly see* Him as *such* neither, till she saw Him as that *just one* in a *Dream*. It was the *same* infinite Being, I likewise observed, that permitted *Julius Caesar's Appearance* to *Brutus* at *Philippi*, as did *Samuel's* to *Saul* at *Endor*, though, probably, in a different Manner. *Saul* and *Brutus* much resembled one another in their Deaths; as being their own Executioners. — *Saul said to his Armour-Bearer, draw thy Sword and thrust me through.* — But *Saul took a Sword, and fell upon it* ^a And you told me quickly, Madam, what *Brutus* said to *Strato*, *Hold then my Sword, and turn away thy Face, while I do run upon it*: *Saul* and *Brutus* were both press'd hard by the Enemy; and why might not *Saul* then, you said, in Regard to the *Appearance* at *Endor*, speak as *Brutus* did? — O *Samuel*, *Thou art mighty yet, thy Spirit walks abroad, and turns our Swords in our own proper Entrails.* You proceeded, Madam, in making a Reflection upon what had pass'd, very just and *à Propos*, which was, that since the *Transition* was so easy and natural from profane to sacred History, and 'twas evident from both, that *Dreams* and *Visions*, whether in the *Heathen* or *Christian* World, were derived and to be accounted for, from one and the same Almighty Power, you had often wonder'd, why there should be that *Hesitation* or *Difference* made (too observable in the present Age) in

giving Assent to these Things ; or why *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, and other Heathen Writers, that you had often heard quoted upon these Subjects, should find Credit upon much easier Terms, than the Writers of the Old and New Testament. All that I then reply'd, was, that there were too many (and some who made great Pretences to Learning too) who paid but little Regard to the Writers under *either* Denomination, sacred or profane, when they talk'd of *Dreams* and *Apparitions* ; such Passages being rather made the Subject of thin Wit, and overflowing Raillery, than any sober Debate, or serious Enquiry about the Truth of them : However, I was much pleased to find, I was then addressing myself to a Person *truly Christian*, without the least Mixture of the *Sadducee* ; and, that Philosophy, good Sense, and a hearty Concern for, and Regard to *Divine Revelation*, had so far prevail'd, that I persuade myself, 'tis your fix'd Resolution, neither to submit your Reason to the Caprice and Humour of any *Bel Esprit* whatever, nor suffer yourself to be argued or laughed out of your Religion, either by the *sly Deist*, or *noisy Free-Thinker*. And, indeed, you soon gave me farther Proof of this : For we had scarce quitted the Plains of *Philippi*, and left off talking of *Julius Caesar's Appearance*, but your Thoughts were carried to one of the sublimest Passages in the Gospel, led to it by the former Discourse : *Moses* and *Elias appearing* to three Disciples at once, was, you said, a Scene full of Wonder and Love ; that you then

then beheld it with an Eye of Faith, and hoped hereafter to have the same Sort of Knowledge (whatever it was) which *Peter, James, and John* then had in the Holy Mount: I begg'd Leave to observe, that our Saviour's *Transfiguration*, with the several Circumstances attending it, is generally thought to point out to the Law and the Prophets, as all referring to and *terminating* in Him, as also to comfort the Disciples against his approaching Passion, and to give them some Resemblance of his second Advent, when He *should come in the Glory of his Father, with the Holy Angels*: These were the great Ends unquestionably, that were serv'd in that *Appearance* on the Mount; and though that *Appearance* was extraordinary, yet your Inference, I think, was still just, *viz.* That as the Souls of Men have been *sometimes* summoned back from the other World to this; so there may be still many weighty Reasons in every Age of the Christian Church, why *Appearitions* should not wholly *cease*. To this I added, that 'twas very certain, both *good* and *bad* Angels, do now, as formerly, serve the Purposes of an all-wise and infinite Being. There are *ministring* Spirits, and *Powers* of Darkness; we are put in Mind, to wrestle with the *one*, and to expect Assistance from the *other*: And when God is pleas'd either to appoint or to permit it; these created Beings not only communicate by *Dreams* and *Visions*, but are enabled to cloath themselves with some *Ethereal* or *Aerial* Substance, and to assume the Likeness of
of

of Souls that are departed and gone to their eternal Rest ; though the Manner of it be as much above the Reach of Man's Understanding, as the *Union* of his own Body and Soul is. I was going on, when, I very well remember, you suggested, that, though it was not to be doubted, but those cœlestial Beings did interest themselves in the Affairs of this sublunary World, and such Execution of the divine Will and Pleasure is probably what we are to understand by *Providence* ; yet there remained a *Scruple* with you, (which you hoped I would soon remove) as, whether since the Establishment of Christianity, *Appearances* from the other World may be expected or allowed of, upon any Account whatever ; and whether it does not seem to be forbidden in the Parable given by our Saviour of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, where we are bid to *hear Moses and the Prophets* in Opposition to such *Appearances*. You well know, Madam, I had then little more to reply, than that I thought we ought to be very cautious in *prescribing Laws* to the Almighty ; especially in an Affair, where in all Ages *before* the Establishment of Christianity He has so remarkably distinguish'd his Wisdom and Justice in the Government of the World. I had the good Luck, at the same Time, to recollect a Passage out of *St. Austin* in his *Treatise about taking Care of the Dead*, where (notwithstanding what some of great Name have thought to the contrary) he says, it argues nothing less than *Impudence*, for Flesh and Blood to reason about the Proceedings

ceedings of the great Creator in such a Manner, as, *when*, and for *how long a Time* He shall please to depute from the other World, Messengers of his Will and Pleasure to be perform'd in *this* : And as to the remaining Part of the Objection you made from our Saviour's Parable, I desired, you would well observe at your Leisure, what a remarkable Difference there is in the Manner of our Saviour's expressing himself : For, when *Abraham* returns his Answer, he does not say, or give the least Hint, that such who have departed this Life either *cannot* return, or that it has not been *usual* for them so to do : Whereas, he is very positive and explicit, when he tells *Dives*, that *there is a Gulph* fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you *cannot* ; neither *can* they pass to us that would come from thence. But the Answer given is, *They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them* ; and great Reason there was for such an Answer : For you may observe, Madam, *Lazarus's* being *raised from the Dead*, had no very great Effect among the stupid *Jews* ; and if *Appearances* from the other World were once *common* among ourselves, we might, perhaps, grow as insensible as they : But then, 'tis by no Means a just Consequence to say, that therefore the Almighty neither *will* nor *does* act that Way at all *since* ; or that the *good* Angels *never* have it in Charge, nor the *bad* ones ever permitted to *communicate* with this lower World, by *Dreams* and *Visions*, or any *other Way*. Nor can the Belief of this be any Ways inconsistent

ent with *Abraham's Answer to Dives*; for the Conclusion, which we all ought to make from it is, that *the Revelation which God has made to Man, contains all the surest Marks of Truth for establishing our Faith, as well as the strongest Motives for our Obedience; and that therefore no greater Evidence can, or ought to be required, than what God has already given.*

This, I think, Madam, was the Substance of the Discourse you was pleased to indulge me at that Time. I am now, according to your Request, to say something *more particular* of the several *Texts* of Scripture, which then occur'd in Conversation; and, withal, to set the Whole in the best and clearest Light I can, by the concurrent *Testimony* both of the Heathen and Christian World, concerning the Matters then discoursed of in *general* only; by this Means, you was pleased to say, you should be able to satisfy yourself and others in such Points; and that afterwards, none should have it in their Power to charge you safely with *Superstition*, without incurring the Censure of *Irreligion* themselves. Give me Leave only to remind you of the Promise made me, when I took my Leave, (being no small Encouragement to this Undertaking) that the Length of my Letter should be a *Fault* that you would easily pardon; and hoped all your Friends would do so too.

The Text of Scripture that first occurred in Conversation, was *Samuel's Appearance at Endor*, occasioned by the Reflections you was making upon *Julius Caesar's* presenting himself at
Phi-

Philippi. I easily imagine, Madam, that you sometimes converse with those, who object, that such as talk of *Apparitions*, either misunderstand or misapply the Holy Scriptures, or else are too credulous in Relations of that Nature ; so that I may well expect the same Usage from that Quarter, which St. Paul met with amongst the *Athenians*, — *What will this Babler say ?* I am very sensible, that *Truth* will always suffer, when the Management of it is in weak Hands ; and therefore permit me, before I speak directly to the Text, to shelter myself under the *Authority* of some great Man, in shewing, that we are neither engaging in a weak Cause, nor doing Disservice to Religion, whilst we talk of *Apparitions* with due *Sobriety*, and in the Manner such a Subject ought to be treated. The *Authority*, I am now going to make Use of, is what you may the more assuredly depend on, because the Author has for many Years past encounter'd Scepticism and Infidelity in all its Shapes : His Armour proves impregnable ; his Arguments ever unanswerable. ^a “ As for *Apparitions*, says that great Man, though there
 “ be much of *Fabulosity* in these Relations, yet
 “ can it not reasonably be concluded, that there
 “ is nothing at all of *Truth* in them ; since
 “ something of this Kind has been averr'd in
 “ all Ages, and many Times attested by Per-
 “ sons of unquestionable Prudence, and un-

^a Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, Page 700.

“ pected Veracity. And whereas the Atheists
 “ impute the *Original* of these Things to Men’s
 “ mistaking both their *Dreams* and their wa-
 “ king *Phancies* for real *Visions* and *Sensations* ;
 “ they do hereby plainly contradict one main
 “ fundamental Principle of their own *Philoso-*
 “ *phy*, that *Sense* is the only Ground of *Cer-*
 “ *tainty*, and the Criterion of all Truth : For
 “ if prudent and intelligent Persons may be so
 “ frequently mistaken, in confounding their own
 “ *Dreams* and *Phancies* with *Sensations*, how
 “ can there be any Certainty of Knowledge at
 “ all from *Sense* ? However, they here dero-
 “ gate so much both from *Sense* and from hu-
 “ man *Testimonies*, as that, if the like were
 “ done in other Cases, it would plainly over-
 “ throw all human Life.

“ And therefore others, being apprehensive
 “ of this Inconvenience of denying so many
 “ *sensible Appearances* and *Testimonies* or *Rela-*
 “ *tions of Fact*, have chose rather to acknow-
 “ ledge the *Reality* of *Apparitions* ; nevertheless
 “ concluding them to be Things caused and
 “ created by the *Power* of *Imagination* only ;
 “ as if the Strength of Imagination were such,
 “ that it could not only create *Phancies*, but
 “ also *real sensible Objects*, and that at a Dis-
 “ tance too from the Imaginers, such as where-
 “ by the Sense of others shall be for the Time
 “ affected, though they quickly vanish away
 “ again. From which prodigious Paradox, we
 “ may take Notice of the *Fanaticism* of some
 “ Atheists, and that there is nothing so mon-
 “ strously

“ strouſſy absurd, which Men infected with
 “ Atheiſtick Incredulity will not rather enter-
 “ tain into their Belief, than admit of any Thing
 “ that ſhall the leaſt hazard or endanger the
 “ *Exiſtence of a God*. For if there be once
 “ any inviſible Ghoſts or Spirits acknowledged,
 “ as Things *permanent*, it will not be eaſy for
 “ any to give a Reaſon, why there might not be
 “ one *ſupreme Ghoſt* alſo, preſiding over them
 “ all and the whole World. — Even *Democritus*
 “ was convinced, that the Stories of *Apparitions*
 “ were not all *Fabulous*, and that there are not
 “ only Terreſtrial, but alſo Aerial and *Ætheri-*
 “ rial Animals; and that this Earth of ours is
 “ not the only Place peopled and inhabited, or
 “ that all thoſe other vaſt Regions above lie de-
 “ ſert, ſolitary and waſte. Divers of the anti-
 “ ent Fathers, though they agreed not ſo far
 “ with *Democritus*, as to make the *Angelical*
 “ *Beings* to be altogether *corporeal*, yet did
 “ they likewiſe ſuppoſe them to have their cer-
 “ tain *ſubtile, ætherial, or aerial Bodies*: In
 “ which Reſpect *St. Auſtin* in his 115th Epistle
 “ calleth Angels *Æthereos*, and Devils *Aerios*
 “ *Animantes*. — The Scripture inſiſts very
 “ much upon *Demons*, or *evil Spirits*, and de-
 “ clares it to be one Deſign of our Saviour
 “ Chriſt’s coming into the World, to oppoſe
 “ theſe *confederate Powers* of the Kingdom of
 “ Darkneſs, and to reſcue Mankind from the
 “ Thralldom and Bondage thereof. This proves
 “ the real *Exiſtence of Spirits*, and that they
 “ are not meer Phancies, and imaginary Inhabi-

“ tants of Mens Brains only, but real Inhabi-
 “ tants of the World. We call them *Wizards*
 “ and *Magicians*, who associate and confederate
 “ themselves in a peculiar Manner with these
 “ evil Spirits for the Gratification of their own
 “ Revenge, Lust, Ambition, and other Passions.
 “ Now, besides the Holy Scriptures; there has
 “ been so full an Attestation given to *them* by
 “ Persons unconcern’d in all Ages, that those
 “ our so confident Exploders of *them* in this
 “ present Age, can hardly escape the Suspicion
 “ of having some hankering towards Atheism.
 “ As for *Demoniacks*, — We may learn from
 “ the Writings of *Josephus* in many Places,
 “ that by *them* was not to be understood Per-
 “ sons very *ill affected* in their Bodies; ^a For
 “ he declares it as his Opinion, that by *Demons*
 “ were to be understood the *Spirits* or Souls
 “ of wicked Men deceased getting into the Bo-
 “ dies of the living; and therefore the *Jews* in
 “ our Saviour’s Time were not at all surprized
 “ with his casting out of Devils, it being usual
 “ for them also to *exorcize* the same; an Art
 “ which they pretended to have learnt from
 “ *Solomon*. *Josephus* gives the following Ac-
 “ count of it; ^b God also taught *Solomon* an
 “ Art against Demons and Devils, for the Be-
 “ nefit and Cure of Men; who composed cer-
 “ tain Incantations by which Diseases are cured;

^a As some Persons now a Days take the Liberty of talking.

^b Antiq. Jud. Lib. VIII. Cap. II.

“ and left Forms of Exorcisms whereby Devils
 “ are expelled and driven away ; which Me-
 “ thod of curing prevails much amongst us at
 “ this very Day. Notwithstanding which, we
 “ think it not at all probable, what a late Athe-
 “ istic Writer has asserted, that the Heads of
 “ the *Jews* were then all of them so full of
 “ Demons and Devils, that they generally took
 “ all Manner of bodily Diseases, such as Fevers
 “ and Agues, and Dumbness, and Deafness for
 “ *Devils* ; nor can we think, that the *Jews* in
 “ our Saviour’s Time either supposed all Mad-
 “ men to be Demoniacks, or all Demoniacks
 “ Madmen (though this latter seems to be as-
 “ serted by an eminent Writer of our own) we
 “ reading of Devils cast out from others besides
 “ Madmen, and of a Woman which had a Spi-
 “ rit of *Infirmity* only, and *was bowed together*
 “ *and could not lift up herself*, which is said
 “ by our Saviour Christ *to have been BOUND*
 “ BY SATAN : Wherefore the Sense of the
 “ *Jews* formerly seems to have been this, that
 “ when there were any unusual and extraordi-
 “ nary *Symptoms* in any bodily Distemper, but
 “ especially that of *Madness* (this being look’d
 “ upon as something more than natural) it was
 “ imputed by them to the Possession or Infesta-
 “ tion of some *Devil*. Neither was this proper
 “ to the *Jews* only at that Time, to suppose
 “ evil Demons to be the Causes of such bodily
 “ Diseases as had extraordinary Symptoms, and
 “ especially Madness ; but the *Greeks* and other
 “ *Gentiles* also were persuaded in like Manner,
 “ as

“ as appears from *Apollonius Tyanæus*, &c. We
 “ have also the Judgment of two very expe-
 “ rienced *Physicians*, *Sennertus* and *Fernelius*,
 “ that evil Spirits or Demons do at this very
 “ Day *sometimes* really act upon the Bodies of
 “ Men, and either inflict or augment bodily
 “ Distempers and Diseases. ^a 'Tis also very
 “ evident, from the Records of credible Wri-
 “ ters, that since the Time of our Saviour there
 “ have been Persons *Demoniacal*, who have not
 “ only discover'd *Secrets*, and declar'd Things
 “ *past*, but *future* also; and besides this, spoke
 “ in *Languages* which they had never learnt.
 “ The *Physician* last named gives an Account
 “ of one *Demoniack*, in whose Behalf he and
 “ several other *Physicians* were called in, and
 “ all Manner of Remedies applied, but yet in
 “ vain; and after having given the Reason
 “ thereof, he concludes thus — These Things
 “ do I produce, to make it manifest that evil
 “ Demons or Devils do sometimes enter into the
 “ very Bodies of Men, afflicting and torment-
 “ ing them after an unheard of Manner: But
 “ that at other Times, though they do not en-
 “ ter into and possess their whole Body, yet,
 “ partly by exagitating and disturbing the pro-
 “ fitable Humours thereof, partly by traducing
 “ the noxious into the principal Parts, or else
 “ by obstructing the Veins and other Passages
 “ with them, or disordering the Structure of

^a De Mania L. I. C. 15. de abditis rerum causis.

“ the Members, they cause innumerable Diseases.
 “ Thus much I have thought necessary to say,
 “ as well for the Vindication of Christianity, as
 “ for the Conviction of the *Incredulous* ; we
 “ finding some so staggering in their Religion,
 “ that from this one Thing alone of *Demoni-*
 “ *ack's* (they being so strongly possess'd, that
 “ there neither is nor ever was any such) they
 “ are ready enough to suspect, the whole Gos-
 “ pel or New Testament itself of Fabulosity
 “ and Imposture.

And now I persuade myself, Madam, from
 what this eminent Writer has laid down, that
 you will not judge *it* an unnecessary Introduc-
 tion ; and I hope all that I have to offer will
 be better understood, and find an easier Admit-
 tance into your Closet. Let *Samuel's Appearance*
 then, at *Endor*, be the first Thing to be
 consider'd ; and a short View of the *Context*
 will, perhaps, lead us to form the truest Judg-
 ment of it. We find, that, at this Juncture, the
 Death of *Samuel*, and *David's* living in a Fo-
 reign Land, were the great Calamities that the
Jews labour'd under. 'Twas this made the
Amalekites to lift up their Heads, and *Saul*
 with his People to hang down theirs. *Saul*
 was in the utmost Distress, and the Enemy seem'd
 resolv'd soon to push him in Mount *Gilboa*.
 'Twas this occasion'd the *Night-Visit* that *Saul*
 made to the Woman at *Endor* ; *he disguis'd*
himself says the Text ^a : and surely taking an-

^a Verse 8.

other *Habit* was then very proper, considering what Affair he was going upon, to *break* a divine *Law*, that was enjoyn'd under the severest Penalty to his own Subjects; and when, should his *Absence* have been discover'd, it might have made a strong Impression and added to the Confusion his Army was then in already. He was grown old in Wickedness; and God in his Providence had now so order'd Matters, that his Punishment was near at Hand. *Saul* probably acted the *Politician* before, in observing that *Law*; and did it not out of any real Sense of his Duty: He might be influenc'd by the Authority and Advice of good *Samuel*, when alive; or he might hope, by the Observation of this *Law*, to appease the Almighty, and that the Sentence might be revok'd, with which *Samuel* had acquainted him, ^a *The Lord hath rejected thee from being King over Israel*; 'twas after that Sentence pass'd, we read the *evil Spirit from God was upon Saul* ^b; and though by the *Charms* of Musick, when *David* took the Harp, the *evil Spirit departed from him*; yet 'tis not unlikely, but that in this last Scene of his Life, the *same evil Spirit troubled him*, which, 'tis expressly said, did so, as soon, as *Samuel* had anointed *David* to be King in his Room ^c. *Saul* therefore did not hate the Sin; but he was willing still to govern; and since he had lost the Favour of Heaven, was re-

^a 1 *Sam.* xv. 26.

^b Chap. xvi.

^c Chap. xvi. 14.
folv'd

solv'd to summon the Powers of Hell^a: Vain, unhappy Prince! to have Recourse to such Methods, which his own Conscience assur'd him were displeasing to the Almighty, and consequently must tend to his own Destruction: Well might he say to *Samuel*, after that the Woman had brought him up, *God is departed from me, answereth me no more, neither by Prophets nor by Dreams*: But after such a Speech, how could *Saul* expect any Good from *Samuel*? Or, what other Answer could he expect than what *Samuel* gave him—*The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand, &c.* No wonder, that *Saul*, after this, is said to be *sore afraid, and that there was no Strength in him*: The Stings of a guilty Conscience were then doubly pungent; this World and the next at the same Time conspiring to make *them* so: The Wickedness of his past Life was then set before him in the strongest Light: The Blood of *the fourscore and five that wore a Linen Ephod^b*, was then crying for Vengeance in his wounded Soul; a potent Enemy was marching to dethrone him; and, by his own ill Conduct, *David* was become one of the Number. And that which gave the finishing Stroke, was, we may imagine, *Samuel's* bidding him prepare for his sudden Change.—*To Morrow shalt thou and thy Sons be with me^c.* And what shall we say to this? Shall *Saul* la-

^a *Flectere si nequeam superos, Acheronta movebo.*

^b 1 *Sam.* xxii. 18.

^c Verse 19.

den with Iniquity go to the same Place of Rest with *Samuel*, or even with his own Son *Jonathan*? By no means: But we are rather to understand by this Expression, that *Saul* and his three Sons should be on the other Side of the Grave,* or in a State of Death to *Morrow*, as well as *Samuel*; so far they should be with him, as to know the Regions of the other World, which they were now Strangers to in this Life; but nothing more, as to the Condition and State of their Souls; *Saul*, no doubt, expected to converse with the real Soul of *Samuel*, and not with any Spectre or Phantom; *Samuel* had done him good Offices, whilst he was alive; and therefore *Saul* might flatter himself, that *Samuel* would assist him some Way or other in this great Extremity. But *wherefore dost thou ask of me*, says *Samuel*, *seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine Enemy*? Madam, Observe the strange Alteration in *Saul*: When *Samuel* was on this Side the Grave, *Saul* sought his Advice, though commanded by the Almighty to hearken to him; when dead, he's as importunate to have it, though in a Way that the same infinite Being had forbid, and therefore must know, could not be for his good. The Woman's sudden Exclamation, ^a *in crying*

* *Hell*, says Mr. *Ainsworth*, signifies a State, where even the best Men come, &c. See *Gen.* xxxvii. 35. See Mr. *Johnson* on the *Psalms*, in the Word *Hell*.

^a Verse xii.

out with a loud Voice, when she first saw *Samuel*, implies, I should think, something extraordinary in the *Appearance*, more than she had been us'd to on the like Occasions; perhaps, by the *Appearance*, she was inform'd, that 'twas her Sovereign who was then applying to her, and was apprehensive that he *was laying a Snare for her Life*, as she objected to him, when he first came to her ^a; which was sufficient to put her into that *Confusion*, and to make her say, *why hast thou deceived me? For, thou art Saul* ^b: Or, it may be, *Samuel's* arising out of the Earth might be in a different Manner, and not agreeable with the common Rules of *Necromancy*. 'Tis certain, there is no Sort of *Divination* so antient as this; and several *Heathen* Writers of the best Authority assure us, that it was commonly practiced in the Eastern Parts of the World. When the Woman said, *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth* ^c; It may possibly be understood in the Language or Way of speaking peculiar to Persons of that Profession; though I rather suspect it to be an *honourary* Sort of Speech, in the *Plural* Number instead of the *Singular*, in Regard to the Person of *Samuel*: For *Saul* immediately subjoyns in the *Singular* ^d: *What Form is he of?* And she answers in the *Singular* likewise, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*; and the using the *Plural*

^a Verse 9.^b Verse xii.^c Verse 13.^d Verse 14.

Number instead of the *Singular* upon such Account, often occurs in Scripture ; particularly, where *Moses* is enjoying Reverence due to Magistrates, ^a *Thou shalt not revile the Gods*. Upon the Whole, by the Account which the Scripture has given us of this Matter, the Woman of *Endor* saw the Form of *Samuel*, but heard no Voice, whereas *Saul* heard the Voice, but saw not the Form.

You may now expect, Madam, that I should proceed in making a more particular Enquiry concerning *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor* ; *Endor*, was a Place, we read ^b, on the other Side *Jordan*, belonging to the Tribe of *Manasseh* ; but 'tis said, *the Children of Manasseh* could not drive out the Inhabitants of those Cities, where their Lot was, but the *Canaanites* would dwell in that Land. 'Tis said in the Book of *Judges* ^c, that God would not drive them out, in Order to prove *Israel*, and that the Children of *Israel* dwelt among the *Canaanites*, &c. and they took their Daughters to be their Wives, and gave their Daughters to their Sons, and served their Gods. Here we see the Reason of those Laws, which God gave to the *Israelites* against *Idolatry*, *Witchcraft*, *Divination*, and dealing with *Familiar Spirits*. The Law more immediately relating to *Saul* in this Affair at *Endor*, runs thus, — *Regard not them that have familiar Spirits, neither seek*

^a *Exod.* xxii. 28.

^b *Joshua* xvii.

^c *Chap.* ii. 3.

after

after Wizards to be defiled by them : I am the Lord your God. A Man or Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard, shall surely be put to Death, — or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer : For all that do these Things are an Abomination unto the Lord : And because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive the Nations out from before thee ^a. The Word *Familiar*, though not in the Original, yet our Translators have thought fit to use that *Epithet*, since we don't seem, no more than the Greeks and Latins, to have any one Word expressive, or sufficient to give us any tolerable Notion of such an Operation. St. Paul tells us of a young *Pythonefs*, whom he met at *Philippi* ^b, who dealt with a Spirit in this *familiar* Manner ; and *Origen* in his Dispute with *Celsus* ^c, gives a particular Account of *Pythia's* Familiarity with such impure Spirits. St. *Chrysostom* does the same Thing, when he comments upon those Words of St. Paul to the *Corinthians* ^d, *Ye know that ye were Gentiles carried away unto these dumb Idols, even as ye were led.* ^e St. *Chrysostom* there tells his Auditors, that if his Discourse on that Subject was not necessary, Modesty would incline him to say nothing of such *Familiarity* : For the Woman, that was to *divine*, did first

^a *Levit.* xix. 31. xx. 27. *Deut.* xviii, 11, 12.

^b *Acts* xvi, 16.

^c *Lib.* VII.

^d *1 Cor.* xii, 2.

^e *Hom.* 29.

of all receive the *infernal* Spirit in the most impure and filthy Manner, afterwards rav'd and foam'd, and then talk'd like a drunken Woman. The Woman at *Endor* had not only a *familiar* Spirit, but she likewise practis'd *Necromancy*, viz. divining from the *Appearance* of dead People, summoned for that Purpose: For *Saul's* Request is, first, that she *would divine unto him by the familiar Spirit, and bring him up whom he should name unto her*^a. When she was once possessed, she was then enabled to do the other. The *Hebrew* Writers, when they comment upon this Part of the *Jewish* Law, tell us, *That the Person deceased ascends between the Legs of the Diviner, and either sits there or at the Arm-pits, uttering in a low Voice, as if it came from some Cavern or hollow Part of the Earth*^b. This *Jewish* Law, moreover, was sometimes broke by the Diviner's consulting with *Images*; among the Heathen, the King of *Babylon* is taken Notice of by the Prophet^c, as *standing at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to use Divination: He made his Arrows or his Knives bright, he consulted with Images or Tera-
phim, he looked in the Liver*. These *Tera-
phim*, or *Images*, were a Sort of Household Gods, of which I don't doubt but you have often read, in *Roman* and other History. *Suetonius* tells us, in the Life of *Nero*, that he always kept

^a Verse 8.

^b *Vid. Crit. Sacr. in Lev. xix. 31.*

^c *Ezek. xxi. 21.*

one of these little *Images* by him, and boasted that he knew Things to come by the Advice of such Image ; this is less to be wonder'd at, when we read in the Holy Scriptures of *Laban's* keeping and consulting these little *Images*, which he calls his *Gods*, when he wrongfully taxed his Son-in-Law *Jacob* with carrying them away ^a; and, probably, his Daughter *Rachel* might do it, either to hinder his *divining* which Way she and her Husband were gone, or else by that Means to take her Father off from Idolatry. The *Jews* and others agree, says Mr. *Mede* ^b, that these *Teraphim* were small Images made under a certain Constellation, which they used to consult, both in Things doubtful and Things future, supposing they had a Power to this Effect, received from heavenly Influence ; much like to *Puppets* made of Wax and like Matter, which our Wizards still use unto like Purposes ; and therefore, says the Prophet, ^b *Surely the Teraphims or Images have spoken Vanity, and the Soothsayers have seen a Lye, and the Dreamers have told a vain Thing.* Dr. *Spencer*, in his learned Discourse of the Laws of the *Hebrews*, when talking of these Matters, says, 'Tis not deny'd, but that there were Images of a much larger Size than these *Teraphims*, that serv'd the same Purpose, by delivering the Answers that their Gods gave : Such he takes it was that famous Statue of

^a Gen. xxxi.

^b B. I. Disc. 36.

^c Zeck. x. 2.
Mem-

Memnon, that became *Vocal* when the Rays of the Sun darted on it: But since these were most of them fixed in Temples, or some publick Places, and therefore could not be always at Hand, the Heathen invented these lesser Sort, to supply the Absence of the greater ^a. Thus much, Madam, I was willing to observe, concerning the *Law*, to which this Transaction at *Endor* does more immediately relate; and, I hope, the little that has been observed, may give you some Satisfaction, as well concerning such as *divine* by familiar Spirits, as also by *Necromancy*, or by infernal Spirits that are invoc'd and appear *outwardly* for that Purpose.

I proceed then to make Enquiry concerning *Samuel's Appearance*; whether *this* was subject to the Will and Pleasure of any Demon, or whether the Almighty thought fit to interpose in any *particular* Manner, and to hinder what *Saul* design'd, and the Woman was going about, but, perhaps, might not put in Execution. The Text says, it was *Samuel*: But was it *Samuel*, risen from the Dead, with the same Body and Soul that were formerly united? Or, was it *Samuel's* Body only, animated by some other immaterial Substance? Or, was it *Samuel* with his Soul only, assuming some *Æthereal* Vehicle? Or, was this a Resemblance only of *Samuel*, effected, thro' God's Permission, by some *Aerial* Demon? As to *Samuel's* Refur-

^a Lib. III. Cap. III. S. 9.

rection with Body and Soul, 'tis not probable, that God would suffer it, considering all the Circumstances of the Fact; and as 'tis unlikely that his Body *only*, or the bare Trunk should be made Use of in this Affair. Let *Samuel* then be first considered as to his Soul only — If we might allow, as the *Romanists* do, the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* to be Canonical, there would be no Room for any Scruple: The Author of that Book (so full of excellent Morality) gives an *Historical Account of Samuel*, which we may safely admit as Canonical, because we find it all contain'd in the first Book of *Samuel*: And after he has recounted the glorious Things done by that great Man, when alive, he adds, as the Conclusion of the Whole, *and after his Death he prophesied, and shewed the King his End, and lift up his Voice from the Earth in Prophecy, to blot out the Wickedness of the People*^a. I dare say, Madam, you don't think *this Passage* induced the antient Fathers of the Christian Church to reckon this Book *Apocryphal*; so far from it, that I can assure you, many of them are of the Opinion, that it was the *real* Soul of *Samuel* that *appeared at Endor*, and some of them have quoted that Book for the same Purpose. So thought *Josephus* among the *Jews*, *Justin* the Martyr, *St. Basil*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Austin*. When I say *the Fathers* of the Christian Church, I persuade myself, that you do not so understand me,

^a Chap. xlvii. 20.

as if I was transgressing the Command of our Saviour, who bids us *call no Man our Father upon the Earth*; for one is our Father which is in Heaven ^a, or that the Expression is used by me in the Manner the haughty and ambitious Jews used it, when they glory'd, one *being of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas* ^b. St. Paul was, indeed, eminently a *Father* to the *Corinthians*; and in the same Sense may the Rest of the Apostles be so called, in Regard to their Instructions, and their being, under Christ, the great Founders of the Christian Religion. Their Successors, those great Lights of the Christian Church, for Six hundred Years after, have been justly thought deserving the same *Appellation*, in Regard to their Piety and great Learning; but, I would not be here mistaken, as if, under the Notion of *Fathers*, I was for setting up an *Infallibility* of Judgment, when I quote these Gentlemen. I as much dislike that Notion, as I do that other, of establishing every one's *private Judgment*, attended with such ill Consequences every Day amongst us. The Writers, whose Authority I am now going to make Use of, were Persons of universal Knowledge, and who gave their Opinion with singular Modesty, after much Thought and serious Reflection; and (as appears particularly in the Case of St. *Austin*) if upon a Review they saw their Mistake, they

^a *Mat.* xxiii. 9.

^b *1 Cor.* iii.

readily *retracted*; * and, on that Account, they are the more to be rely'd on. In short, the present Age does not seem to be a Match for them, either in human Learning or Divinity: However, you need not be scrupulous here, Madam; for no *Essentials* or Points of Faith will be treated of. — *Josephus* was born but three or four Years after our Saviour suffered; this Man (who may certainly be allowed a competent Judge of the *Jewish* Affairs) gives us the History of *Samuel's Appearance* much after the same Manner as we have it in our Bible; but says more particularly, that the Woman at *Endor* did not know what Manner of Person *Samuel* was; however, she called him up, and was in great Disorder upon the Sight of so venerable and divine a Person; and says expressly, that 'twas the SOUL of *Samuel* that questioned with *Saul*; this we have recorded in his Book called *Jewish Antiquities*^a. And this is the Author, Madam, who, though he lived and died a *Jew*, yet spake so honourably of our blessed Saviour. You see *Josephus* is a good Witness in the Affair of *Samuel*; and so is *Justin* the Martyr, who lived not long after the Time of the Apostles, and who, in the famous Dialogue between him and *Trypho* the *Jew*, alledges this, as one Argument of the Soul's surviving in another State; that

* I wish another *Bishop* (at this Day) would take the like Method.

^a Lib. VI. Cap. XV.

the Witch or Pythonefs called up the Soul of Samuel at the Request of Saul. And though *Justin* is made to speak otherwise in a Treatise, called *his Answers to the Orthodox, concerning the 146 Questions*, yet that Treatise is, on many Accounts, rejected as spurious, or, at best, must be allowed to be interpolated, and many Things father'd upon *Justin*, that are none of his ^a. *St. Basil*, who lived in the fourth Century, writing to his Friend *Euslathius* a *Physician* ^b, and taking Occasion to mention the different Acceptation of the Word God, says, *the Pythonefs, that by her Witchcraft brought up Samuel, said, that she saw Gods, &c.* And *St. Ambrose*, who lived also in the fourth Century, is very exprefs in his Commentary upon the first Chapter of *St. Luke*; where he says, *According to the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures, Samuel prophefied after his Death* ^c. *St. Ausin*, who was Cotemporary with *St. Ambrose*, says, in a Treatise that I mentioned to you, Madam, sometime ago ^d, *'Tis evident from the Holy Scriptures, that some are sent from the Dead to the Living, as, on the contrary, that St. Paul was taken up from the Living into Paradise: For Samuel being dead, prophefied to King Saul whilst alive. Although some have been of an*

^a See Dr. Cave's *Hist. Lit.*

^b Epist. 80.

^c *Samuel post mortem secundum Scripturæ Testimonium futura non tacuit.*

^d Taking Care of the Dead.

Opinion, that it could not be Samuel himself, as not subject (they imagine) to the Power of any magick Arts, but was therefore rather some bad Spirit, fit for such Work, which assumed the Likeness of Samuel : Whereas the Book called ECCLESIASTICUS, generally ascribed to Jesus Syriach, but from the Style and Manner of Writing, is affirmed to be Solomon's, commemorates Samuel, among other Holy Men departed, as one that had prophesied from amongst the Dead. After such great Names, Madam, I presume, you will think it unnecessary to have the Judgment of modern Writers, whether Romish or Protestant, in this Matter ; and I need not observe to you, that the Writers, which I have set before you, lived too early, to be stigmatized with the trite and odious Character of being Popishly affected : And here I can't but observe by the By, that every true Member of the Church of England must think, that the Reformation suffers, and real Service is done to the Church of Rome, whenever Popery is said to be found among those glorious Lights of the Christian Church. We do not, we must not, refuse appealing to the concurrent Testimony of Writers even for six hundred Years after our Saviour, for the Truth of our Religion ; and if Christendom could be so happy as to agree on a fair Tryal in that Respect, and worldly Policy and Grandure not allowed to have any Thing to do in the Matter, Things would then be put upon such an Issue, that Schism in a little Time would have nothing left to support itself. Give me Leave then,

then, rather than trouble you with any more *Authorities*, to make some Enquiry, what might probably induce these *antient Fathers* to conclude thus about the *Soul of Samuel*. They might observe in the first Place, what is obvious to every Reader, that as often as this *Appearance* is taken Notice of in the History, there is no other Name given than that of *Samuel*: 'Tis said, that the *Woman saw Samuel*—that *Saul perceived that it was Samuel*—*Samuel said to Saul*—*Saul answered Samuel*—And *Saul* was fore afraid, because of the *Words of Samuel*. 'Tis natural enough to conclude, when *Saul* went to *Endor* upon this Errant, that he himself did believe, what he really wished and expected, was come to pass: There was no Scruple, nor even *Fancy* in him about the Matter; for he *perceived*, which is more than *Fancy*, that it was *Samuel*; and his Respects were paid accordingly; *he bowed himself*; and, during the Conversation, *Saul* says, *I have called thee, that thou mayst make known unto me what I shall do*. If the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* was writ by *Solomon*, as *St. Austin* takes Notice, 'tis no Wonder then, that these antient Fathers were of such an Opinion: And who so likely to give a just Account of the Matter, as *Solomon*, who lived so little a Time after 'twas done? And what Reason could there be for the Author to extol *Samuel* for his *propheying after Death*, if an infernal Spirit only *appeared* under the Resemblance of *Samuel*? These Antients might likewise observe, that the *Predictions at Endor* were

were extraordinary and very particular, as to *Saul's Sons* and their *dying the next Day* : This was a Sort of Knowledge they knew was above the Reach of any *infernal Spirit* ; for so the Prophet *Isaiah*^a, *Let them bring forth and shew us what shall happen : Let them shew the former Things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter End of them ; or declare us Things for to come : Shew the Things that are to come hereafter, that we may know, that ye are Gods.* Yet, evil Spirits, by the divine Appointment, may, and often have *declared Things for to come* ; but considering the several Circumstances of this *Appearance of Samuel*, the *Fathers* might not think it consistent with the *Ministry of Demons*, though 'twas to punish a very wicked Man. Besides, if *infernal Spirits*, as has been often asserted, can neither use, nor endure the Sound of the great and venerable Name *JEHOVA*, this might furnish *them* with another strong Argument for concluding as they did ; that *Name* being so often repeated in the History. The *Commission*, they might think, was too *solemn*, and the Subject too *divine* for a *Demon* to be concerned in — *The Lord, says Samuel, has done for himself, as he spake by me — The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand — Because thou obeyest not the Voice of the Lord ;* and if it was not *Samuel*, but a *lying Spirit*, to what Purpose (they might

^a Chap. xli.

argue) or what Occasion was there for that *Lye*, when *Samuel* said to *Saul*, *Why hast thou disquieted me?* And, *the Lord spake by me*. And though the Souls of the Righteous are said to be in *Peace* and at *Rest*, yet it might be no Objection to *these Fathers*, that *therefore* it was not *Samuel*, because he complains that he was *disquieted and brought up* from the Place where he was before in Joy and Felicity; *they* might conclude, God appointed this, as he had often done before and since, in Regard to the Souls of innocent and good People: They knew the Soul was often *brought back*, and such *Disturbance* given as quitting the Mansions of Bliss; and whether such Souls are *called back* to their *proper Bodies*, or whether they are summoned hither without the *real Body*, is not the Objection here; but whether God might appoint the Soul of so good a Man as *Samuel* to be *disturbed*? This, I say, might be no Objection to *them*: They knew very well, that the Soul was *brought back* to the Widow's Son at *Zarephath*^a; to another, upon the *Body's* touching the Bones of *Elisba*^b; they knew the *Disturbance* given to the Soul of *Jairus's* Daughter^c; to that of the Widow's Son at *Nain*^d; to that of *Lazarus* who had been buried four Days^e; to that of *Tabitha* at *Joppa*, a *Woman full of good Works and Alms-deeds which she did*^f; and to the Souls of a great

^a 1 Kings xvii.

^b 2 Kings xiii.

^c Mat. ix.

^d Luke vii.

^e John xi.

^f Acts ix.

many

many good People at one Time, *when the Graves were opened, and many Bodies of Saints which slept arose, and came out of the Graves, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many*^a. And though, Madam, the *Appearance at Endor*, is described as of one *ascending out of the Earth*, yet those Primitive Writers might still think that no Objection to the Reality of *Samuel's Appearance*, but rather consistent with the Scripture Account, in other Places, of Souls departed hence ; and I can, moreover, assure you, that those Writers did so understand the Scriptures. *Jacob*, when he thought his Son *Joseph* was dead^b, refused to be comforted, saying that he would *go down to his Son* ; and the Original Word there used^c, for the *Grave*, is what frequently occurs in Scripture to denote the *Subterraneous Mansions*, and, as such, is translated by the LXX Greek Interpreters^d, but never by the Word *τάφος*, or any other Word that signifies a *Grave* or a *Sepulchre* ; and St. *Jerom* and others in the *Latin* translate it to the same Purpose^e ; so also at the punishing of a lewd Company of *Schismatics*^f, they are said to *go down alive into the PIT* ; the same Word there used, as before. So the Royal *Psalmist*^g, *If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there ; if I*

^a *Mat.* xxvii.

^d *Ἄδης*.

^g cxxxviii.

^b *Gen.* xxxvii.

^e *Infernum*.

^c *שָׁחַל*.

^f *Numb.* xvi.

go down to Hell, thou art there also. * We very often use the Word *Hell* (in our translating the Bible) improperly, because our Language does not furnish us with a Word that's comprehensive enough : The Scriptures, sometimes express it by the Way of a Periphrasis : As, *He ascended ; what is that, but the same that descended to the lower Parts of the Earth ?* St. Paul tells the Philippians ^a, *That at the Name of Jesus every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things under the Earth :* And St. John, when he speaks of the Book sealed with seven Seals, says, *No Man in Heaven nor in Earth neither under the Earth, was able to open the Book, neither to look thereon.* You will easily imagine, Madam, that these Primitive Writers had such Passages as these in their Eye, when they passed their Judgment upon this Appearance of Samuel from the lower Parts of the Earth. Irenæus, who lived not long after the Apostles, speaks very plain about the lower Parts of the Earth, as the proper Residence for the Souls of the Just, till at the great Day they shall be reunited to their Bodies, and then

* *Hell* ; not only the Place of Torments, but the Place or State of deceased Souls, or what we commonly call the other World. It is a Place or State, which all, even the best Men, come unto, says Mr. Ainsworth ; who observes farther, that Jacob made Account to go thither, when he says (*Gen. xxxvii. 35.*) That he would go down to Hell mourning to his Son : And our Saxon Ancestors translate the Place in the same Manner.

^a Chap. ii.

ascend into Heaven, and have a full Consummation of their Happiness ; the Discourse is introduced by this renowned Prelate, on Account of our Saviour's *Descent into Hell* ; where he takes Notice of our Saviour's Saying to *Mary*, *Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father* — “ If therefore our Lord, says *Irenæus*, “ did conform himself to the Law relating to “ the Dead, that he might be the First-born “ from the Dead, and staid till the third Day “ in the *lower Parts of the Earth*, after which, “ rising with his Body, that he might shew his “ Disciples the Print of the Nails, so went up “ to Heaven ; how can such People help blushing, (*meaning the Gnosticks*) who assert this “ World to be the Place of Hell ; but that “ their Souls, when they quit the Body, mount “ to the higher Regions above ? For, since our “ Lord retired, in the midst of the Shadow “ of Death, where the Souls of the Deceas'd “ were ; rose afterward with his Body ; and “ then was taken up ; 'tis evident, that the Souls “ of the Disciples, or Christians in general, for “ whose Sake the Lord did those Things, have “ a Place appointed them by God, above our “ Comprehension, where they shall continue “ waiting till the general Resurrection ; when “ being reunited in a perfect Manner to their “ own Bodies, or rising as our Lord did, they “ shall become Partakers of the Beatifick Vision^a. If you are pleased to know more of

^a Adv. Hær. Lib. V. Cap. 31.

this Matter, Madam, you may see it fully treated of in Dr. *Heylin* and Bishop *Pearson's* Expositions of that *Article* of our Creed ; the latter observes, when this was made one of the *Articles* of our Religion at the Reformation, that it was propounded with a certain Explication, and thus deliver'd in the fourth Year of King *Edward VI.* with Reference to an exprefs Place of Scripture interpreted of this *Descent*, viz. *That the BODY of Christ lay in the Grave until his Resurrection : But his SPIRIT, which he gave up, was with the Spirits which were detained in Prison, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the Place in St. Peter testifieth :* In Bishop *Sparrow's* Collection, the *Article* in *English* reads thus, “ As Christ died and was buried for us ; “ so also it is to be believed, that he went “ down into Hell : For the Body lay in the Sepulchre until the Resurrection, but his Ghost “ departing from him was with the Ghosts that “ were in Prison or in Hell, and did preach to “ the same as the Place of *St. Peter* doth testify. ” But in the Synod ten Years after, in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Articles*, which continue still in Force, deliver the same *Descent*, but without any the least Explication or Reference to any particular Place of Scripture, in these Words, *As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.* You find the Passage in *St. Peter's* first Epistle^a, — *He went and preached*

^a Chap. iii. 19, 20.

unto the Spirits in Prison; which some time were disobedient, &c. Why the Article stands now without *Explication* and *Reference*, is an Enquiry, not at all *material* to our present Purpose; and were it otherwise, I believe you would think it more proper for me to let it alone. The Passage seems to allude to what the Prophet *Zechariah* says ^a, where he is exhorting *Zion* to rejoyce for the Coming of Christ,—*As for thee also, by the Blood of thy Covenant, I have sent forth thy Prisoners out of the Pit, wherein is no Water.* The Prophecy concerning Christ just precedes this Passage, and is so quoted by the *Evangelists* concerning his Entry into *Jerusalem*, *Rejoyce greatly, O Daughter of Zion; shout O Daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy King cometh, &c.* And then, by Way of Apostrophe, the Prophet addresses himself to Christ, *As for thee also, &c.* (as above) *Justin* the Martyr and *Irenæus*; the one, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, the other in his third Book against Heresies ^b quote a Passage, as belonging either to *Isaiah* or *Jeremiah*, which so much resembles this Passage of *St. Peter*, that probably he might take it thence; the Words are, *The Lord the Holy one of Israel had in Remembrance HIS that were dead, and were asleepe in the Land of the Deceas'd, and went down to preach to them Salvation, which is from him, that he might save them.* *Justin* is there

^a Chap. ix. 11.

^b Chap. xxiii.

upbraiding his *Jew* with the base Methods, they had taken, by curtailing the Holy Scriptures in many Places; and this Passage, he says, was one of them; the Annotator *Sylburgius* makes no Doubt, but *St. Peter* did refer to this Passage: And *Feuardentius* upon *Irenæus*, observes, that this Passage neither occurs in the *Septuagint* nor *Vulgar* Translation.

After what I have thus offer'd, concerning *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor*, I am apt to think, you may have still some *Scruples* remaining about it; as whether it was the *real* Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the Almighty would permit any *such Appearance* to be. We may safely affirm, that, without the Divine *Permission*, it was not in the Power of any Infernal Spirit to have effected it. But whether, considering all the particular Circumstances of the Fact, and the strict Relation had between *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, such an *Appearance* may not be *reasonable*; or whether such *Appearance* be any ways *inconsistent* with infinite Wisdom and Justice, seems to be the main Question. *Samuel*, when he had anointed *Saul* to be *King*, might be said to continue still *Judge* of the People; though they were so fond of a Change in Government, and obstinately affected the Title of *King* for their Governour. 'Tis evident, *Samuel* still retain'd the *judiciary* Power, and was prime Minister in all Affairs besides; 'twas the peculiar Office of *Samuel* to *instruct*, to *advise*, and to *reprove Saul*: But when he grew very wicked, and *Samuel* found all Methods unsuccessful; he left

left him with this Prophetick Sentence denounc'd against him, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom of Israel from thee this Day, and hath given it to a Neighbour of thine that is better than thou.* This was the last Time that *Samuel* took any Notice of *Saul*; *Samuel* went to *Ramah*, and there mourned for *Saul*^a; he knew, that *Saul's* Kingdom was soon to be taken from him, and was also really concern'd for *Saul's* Condition after this Life; the good old Man therefore mourns, though he was no Transgressor himself, for one that was a very great Offender, but without any Remorse for his own Sins. With these Thoughts the Soul of *Samuel* went down to the Grave: But at *Endor*, Madam, you have the same Words explain'd, that *Samuel* made Use of, when he took his Leave of *Saul*. *Samuel* told *Saul*, just before they parted, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom, &c.* And here at *Endor*, he reminds him of this memorable Conversation, in the following Words^b: *The Lord hath done, for himself, as he spake by me: For the Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand, and given it to thy Neighbour, even to David.* But if this Argument be not sufficient for inferring it to have been the real Soul of *Samuel*, it may then, I think, be reasonably asked, whether any infernal Power was, or could be in it's own Nature, privy to such Discourse, as pass'd between *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, and which

^a 1 Sam. xv.

^b 1 Sam. xxviii. 17.

was afterwards repeated at *Endor*? It must be allowed, that to *search the Heart and Reins* is a Privilege belonging to the Almighty: No Man, nor Devil, knoweth the Things of a Man, but the Spirit that is in him: And 'tis the Spirit that searcheth the deep Things of God: It seem'd a sufficient Argument, that Christ was God, when he let the Scribes see, that he knew their Thoughts^a; and were infernal Spirits constantly acquainted with the inmost Recesses of our Souls, our Temptations would be more violent, and the Victory still rendered more difficult. I know very well, the Reply to this, is, that such Knowledge might, and often has been communicated to Demons, for executing the Almighty's Will and Pleasure here. This I readily grant: But then, as I said before, considering all the Circumstances of this Appearance, why may it not be more reasonable to suppose Samuel by divine Appointment divulging his own Thoughts, than to have them communicated, and then divulged in so solemn a Manner by an infernal Spirit? Or what is there in this unbecoming the Majesty of Heaven? The greatest Objection, to this real Appearance of Samuel, (at least it has the greatest Weight with me) is, that since Saul says of himself, just before he went to *Endor*^b, That the Lord answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets; that therefore, it should seem incon-

^a Mat. ix.

^b 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

sistent, to suppose the Almighty afterwards concern'd in giving him an *Answer* from the *Dead*; especially when 'twas what he himself had forbid by an express Law — This is the Substance of all that has been objected, either by any of the Antients, or by *Leo Allatius*, and other Moderns; you are then, Madam, to weigh in the Ballance what has been already offered concerning the *real* Appearance of *Samuel*; what the Judgment of those Antients I quoted; and whether the Reasons supposed to induce them in forming such Judgment are of any Force: And, as to the present Objection, I should think it might be safely answered, in saying, that *Saul's* wicked Intention of having Recourse to *Necromancy*, might induce the Almighty to *interpose*, and hinder both him and the Woman executing that, which they were then going about to do, and yet at the same Time to give *Saul* the strongest Assurances (not subject to any Illusion) of the sudden Destruction that was coming upon him. You observe, by the History, *the great Confusion* the Woman was in at *Endor*; what a terrible Cry or Howl there was, when she was surpriz'd at the *Appearance* of *Samuel*. This *Pythonefs*, we may conjecture, had not Time given her, to put herself in Order for playing the Magick Tricks she intended; or, it may be, the *Appearance* was not only sudden, and therefore such as she might conclude she had no Hand in, but was in *another* Manner, than what she was before used to; and some Commentators have accordingly observ'd, that, probably,

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bably, *Samuel* did not *ascend* by the Rules of *Necromancy*, but in a Posture quite different. I am therefore inclin'd to think, that *Samuel's* real Appearance may be very well admitted, without supposing the Almighty to have been consenting to the *Breach* of any divine Law ; and that it was by no Means inconsistent, that God, after having denied a wicked Man's Request, in not *answering him by Dreams*, &c. should take the Opportunity, and use Methods more agreeable with his own infinite Wisdom and Justice, in denouncing *Saul's* Doom by that very Person, who had anointed him King, and made it his sole Business to support him in his Throne ; that Person, whose Counsel he had rejected, whose Prophecies he had dreaded, and which Prophecies, as a Prelude to his approaching Misery, he was to hear declared by him from the other World in a more full, awful and terrible Manner, than he had heard *them* in this. And thus, Madam, I leave the Whole with you, and will not venture to affirm any Thing farther in this Matter of *Samuel*, than in assuring you, that I pay the same Regard to the *Passage* already quoted out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, which the antient Fathers did. I could easily produce several very material Testimonies from them ; from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *St. Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Ambrose*, besides that from *St. Austin* already mention'd, in Behalf of that Book ; and many of them believed it to be *Solomon's*, though collected and digested by *Jesus the Son of Sirach*. Our Church did

did not settle the *Canon* of Scripture, or exclude this Book in the *Articles* drawn up in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* And when it was done in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Books then stil'd *Apocryphal* are no otherways distinguish'd than they were of old by St. *Jerom*, viz. *the Church doth read them for Example of Life, and Instruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any Doctrine.* By *Doctrine* we must understand *such*, and *such* only, as relates to any Article of our *Faith*. The *Doctrine* at present, Madam, is not of that Sort; nor is our *Salvation* in the least concern'd, whether we reject or admit the *Doctrine*, which has been thus advanc'd.

After what has been said then, concerning this *particular* Appearance of *Samuel*, I will now beg Leave to give you my Thoughts concerning *Appearances* in general: For should you be inclin'd, Madam, to think as I do, concerning the *real* Soul of *Samuel* at *Endor*, yet we must still think of it, as an Appearance *particular* and extraordinary, so order'd by the Almighty, it may be, for many wise and good Ends; but by no Means infer, that therefore the *real* Soul of *Julius Cæsar* was at *Philippi*; or that there may not be Resemblances of Persons alive but absent, as also deceas'd; and Communications that Way, as well as by *Dreams* and *Visions*, and yet the Souls of such Persons whether alive or deceas'd, whether good or bad, knowing nothing of the Matter, and no Ways privy to such Communications ap-

pointed or permitted by the Almighty, unless he sees fit to order it otherwise. It is in this Sense, and no other, that I shall treat of the present Subject; and I am not without Hopes of giving you some Satisfaction, before I have done with it.

The Doctrine of Substances *spiritual*, or what, in Contradistinction to Bodies corporeal and visible, we often call *immaterial*, is a Doctrine, which the better and more thinking Part of the Heathen World easily apprehended, and of which they were thoroughly convinced both by Reason and Experience ^a, to the great Reproach of those *mongrel Jews*, who say, that *there is neither Angel nor Spirit* ^b. The Author to the *Hebrews* styles the Almighty the *Father of Spirits* ^c. Such *Spirits* must all confess, as well as we that are of another Mould, that 'tis *he who hath made us, and not we ourselves*: Some of them were so unhappy, as to forget it, when through their Pride and Envy they *lost their first Estate, and are reserved in everlasting Chains under Darkness, unto the Judgment of the great Day* ^d. These are now distinguish'd by the Name of *Demons* or *Devils*; whereas those, who retain'd the happy Estate in which they were first created, have now in common the Name of *Angels*, tho' different *Orders*, as the Scripture informs us. The *one* are continually roving about in this sublunary World,

^a *Aristot.* 8. *Phys.* & 12. *Metaphys.*

^b *Acts* xxiii. 8.

^c Chap. xii. 9.

^d *Jude* vi.
seeking

seeking whom they may ensnare, and how to encrease their Kingdom of Darkness; the *other* as vigilant in taking heed to their Charge, as *ministring Spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be Heirs of Salvation* ^a.

Now, Madam, by the *Appearance* of a *Spirit*, I would in general (or without taking the Word *Appearance* in the strictest Sense) be understood, that such *Substances* spiritual and immaterial, good and bad, have often been, and still may be, manifested in such a Manner, though not without the Appointment or Permission of the Almighty, as to be easily apprehended by one, more, or all of our *Senses*: But then, as our *Senses* are to be consider'd several Ways, so there are as different Ways, wherein such *Appearances* occur. Sometimes the Communication is only *mental*; sometimes the Representation is rendered strong to the Imagination; at other Times, the outward Senses themselves engaged in such *Appearance*. You easily observe, that the Old and New Testament afford us several Instances for illustrating these Distinctions. Nay, farther, we there learn, that there may be sometimes undoubted *external* Proof given of *immaterial* Substances being present, and yet no *Appearance* at all. 'Twas so, when by the *Ministry of Angels* the Law was given to the People; when there was enough to prove their Presence, but nothing more

^a Heb. i. 14.

perceived, than *Thundrings, the Noise of the Trumpet, and the Mountain smoaking* ^a. And so it was, likewise, when, by the same Executioners of the Almighty's Will and Power, the Course of Nature was alter'd, and the Sun and Moon stood still at the Voice of a Man; *When Joshuah said in the Sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon* ^b. I remember, you have sometimes told me, that you had read over a great many Books about *Apparitions*, and that you thought there was just Reason to reject many of them as *fabulous*: I entirely agreed with you in Opinion; and I farther added, that 'twas not improbable, but the *Degeneracy* and *Propbaness* amongst Christians might be one Reason, why such Communications by Dreams and Visions are so rarely permitted amongst us, as formerly. I shall be very careful, Madam, in offering any Thing to you upon the present Subject, but what I think is supported with the best Authority, as well as Reason; so far as *Reason* may have to do in the Matter. The great *Mistake*, that People are generally led into, when they read such Books, as you mention'd (and you frankly own'd it to be your own Case) is, they imagine, in the Affair of *Apparitions* and *Communications* from the other World, that the *real* Souls of Persons deceas'd are concern'd, and acquainted with the Matter tran-

^a *Exod.* xx. 18.

^b *Josh.* x. 12.

acted;

facted; whereas we are rather to conclude, that such *Souls departed* may be generally utter Strangers to what is so permitted or appointed by the supreme Governour; and that they continue just in the same State they were, upon their Dissolution here. The Case has been often evidently so in Regard to the Living; and why may we not account for it in the same Manner, as to the *Dead*? I mean, 'tis a Truth beyond Contradiction, that there have been Persons in all Ages, and in all Parts of the World, whether *Heathen* or *Christian*, who have either by an external Appearance, or Dream, or Vision, been advised, instructed, or acquainted by some Friend or Relation, in whose Resemblance they could not be mistaken; and yet such Friend or Relation has not only been at a great Distance, and in a good State of Health, but, as it has afterwards prov'd, was perfectly ignorant of the Matter, as to such Advice or Information given under such Resemblance. St. *Austin*, Madam, in that curious Treatise, which I have twice quoted already ^a, gives some remarkable Instances to this Purpose; and he makes himself one of them. “ It has been related, says St. *Austin*, that some *dead* Folks, whilst their Bodies have continued above Ground unburiesd, have appear'd to Persons living, either in their Sleep, or in some other Manner, they being wholly ignorant where such Bo-

^a *De Cura pro Mortuis gerenda.*

“ dies lay, and that having signified where the
 “ Places were, pressed them to give Burial,
 “ which had been neglected. If it shall be
 “ reply’d, that these Things are not true,
 “ such Reply (says the Father) may well be
 “ term’d *impudent*; because ’tis not only ques-
 “ tioning the Authority of some Authors of
 “ known Credit, as to what they relate; but
 “ ’tis arraigning the very Senses of those,
 “ who affirm that Things of this Nature have
 “ besel them: The proper Answer therefore,
 “ or Account to be given of these Things is,
 “ that we are not to imagine, such dead Folks
 “ are any ways affected, or concern’d in the Af-
 “ fair themselves, because *they seem* to speak,
 “ to signify, and make it their Request to Per-
 “ sons *living*, in their Sleep or otherways: For
 “ many who are *alive* often appear to one an-
 “ other in their Sleep; and yet such, who so
 “ *appear*, know nothing of it themselves, till
 “ they have the Account from the other;
 “ who declare that they saw them in their
 “ Sleep talking or acting such and such Things.
 “ If then a Person can see *me* in his Sleep, ac-
 “ quainting him with something that’s just
 “ come to pass, or, it may be, foretelling some-
 “ thing that’s yet to happen; when I, at the
 “ same Time, am an utter Stranger to those
 “ Things, and, probably, never so much as
 “ came into my Thoughts, whether that Person
 “ was up or no, when I went to Bed, or whe-
 “ ther we might be awake or asleep at one and
 “ the same Time or no, when he so saw me :
 “ Why

“ Why is it then to be wonder’d at, that Persons
 “ *deceas’d* should seem to present themselves to
 “ the *Living* in their Sleep, and to impart some
 “ Things to them, which they afterwards find
 “ to be true, and yet the *Deceas’d* may be
 “ unacquainted with such Things themselves?
 “ For my own Part, I believe these Things are
 “ done by *Angels*, so appointed or permitted
 “ by the Almighty ——— But such is human
 “ Frailty; when any one has seen a Person,
 “ that’s *dead*, in his Sleep, he is apt to think,
 “ that the *Soul* of the *Deceas’d* then appears;
 “ and yet, when he shall have seen a *living* Per-
 “ son in the like Manner, he’s thoroughly satis-
 “ fied, that ’twas neither his Soul nor his Bo-
 “ dy, but the *Resemblance* of the Person that
 “ he saw; as if it was not *alike* possible, that
 “ there there may be such *Resemblances* of *de-*
 “ *ceas’d* Persons in our Dreams, and yet the
 “ Souls of such Persons knowing nothing of
 “ it. When I was at *Milan*, ’twas related, as
 “ a certain Truth, that there having been made
 “ a Demand of a Debt, which had been really
 “ paid by one that was then dead; but the
 “ Son, on whom the Demand was made, being
 “ ignorant of it, and affrighted at the Sight
 “ of his Father’s Bond produced against him,
 “ and thereupon thrown into a deep Melancho-
 “ ly, wondering that his Father, when a dy-
 “ ing, and when he also made his *Will*, should
 “ take no Notice of his Debts: Under this Per-
 “ plexity, the Father *appear’d* to him in his
 “ Sleep, and let him know where he should
 H “ find

“ find a *Counter-Security* in Relation to that
 “ Debt: This being accordingly found and
 “ produc’d, he not only clear’d himself, as to
 “ the false and scandalous Demand that had
 “ been made, but likewise recover’d the Bond,
 “ under his Father’s Hand, which he had care-
 “ lessly suffer’d to lye out against him, when
 “ he paid the Money. Now, here the Man’s
 “ *Soul* is *suppus’d* to take this Care of his Son,
 “ and to have come to him when asleep, and by
 “ instructing him in what he was ignorant, freed
 “ him from the great Trouble he was in. Like-
 “ wise at the very same Time, when I heard this,
 “ being then settled at *Milan*, one *Eulogius*, a
 “ Professor of Rhetoric at *Carthage*, (who
 “ was once my Pupil in that Way, and gave me
 “ the following Account, after I return’d to
 “ him into *Africa*) during the Course of
 “ Lectures which he was reading upon *Ci-*
 “ *cero’s* Books of *Rhetoric*, happen’d, when
 “ he was overlooking a certain Lecture against
 “ the next Day, to meet with a Passage that
 “ seem’d very dark and obscure. Not being
 “ able to understand or to make himself Master
 “ of that *Passage*, he went to Bed very much
 “ dissatisfied, and could hardly sleep for think-
 “ ing of it: But that Night, whilst he was
 “ slumbering, I, it seem’d, explain’d the Diffi-
 “ culty, and made *that* intelligible to him,
 “ which before was otherwise: But yet, it
 “ was not I, but a Resemblance of me, who
 “ knew nothing of the Matter, was at a great
 “ Distance on the other Side of the Sea, and
 “ was

“ was either doing or dreaming something
 “ else at that Time, and had not the least
 “ Thought of that which then so much di-
 “ sturbed *Eulogius*. The *Way* or Manner
 “ how these Things may be done, is what I
 “ am at a Loss to define; but let them be
 “ done which Way soever, what Objection can
 “ there be to our believing, that any one in his
 “ Sleep may see a Person that is *dead*, in the
 “ same Way that he sees one that is *alive*?
 “ Both of them being ignorant and unconcern’d,
 “ as well in Respect of the Person, as the Place
 “ and Time, when such *Representations* are
 “ made. Why are we not to believe, that
 “ these Things are done by *Angels*, thro’ the
 “ Dispensation of divine Providence, who uses
 “ both the *good* and *bad*, for excellent Pur-
 “ poses, according to the Depth of his Counsels
 “ which are unsearchable? Whether it be for
 “ *Instruction* in some, or *Delusion* in others;
 “ whether for *Comfort* or *Terror*; every one’s
 “ Condition is, either to taste of his *Mercy*,
 “ or *Indignation* and *Wrath*: And when the
 “ Church of God *sings of his Mercy and*
 “ *his Judgment*, we are to suppose such Ex-
 “ pression not to be without its proper Force
 “ and Energy. In short, let every one judge,
 “ as he please, of this Discourse of mine: *I will*
 “ *only add*, if the Souls of the Deceas’d did in-
 “ terest themselves in the Affairs of the *Living*,
 “ and they themselves conversed, when ap-
 “ pearing to us in our Sleep, ’tis certain my own
 “ good pious Mother (to name no more)

“ would never let a Night pass without making
 “ me a Visit, since, when alive, she followed
 “ me both at Sea and Land, that she might live
 “ with me” This was the Lady, Madam, I
 remember you once mention’d on Account of
 some Affliction that had lately happen’d to a Re-
 lation of yours; and, as you was pleas’d to
 express yourself, you wish’d you might be
 so happy as to copy after your dear *Monica*.
 She was, indeed, a Woman of exalted Piety; and
 when she came to die, at the Age but of fifty-
 six, what a moving Scene was there between
 her and her Son at parting? I fear, I shall
 incur your Displeasure, if I should omit it;
 we meet with it in the tenth and eleventh Chap-
 ters of his ninth Book of *Confessions*; and I will
 be as brief as possible in relating it, though it
 may not be altogether Foreign to the present
 Subject neither. “ When the Day of *Monica*’s
 “ Death drew near, and she had so contriv’d
 “ it, that she and her Son might be alone, the
 “ Discourse immediately began about the Hap-
 “ piness of the other Life, *such as neither Eye*
 “ *hath seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it en-*
 “ *ter’d into the Heart of Man to conceive.*”
 St. *Austin* having for some Time expatiated up-
 on the Subject, and observed, how poor and
 mean the Delights of this World are, his Mo-
 ther replies, — “ Son, as to myself, there
 “ is nothing belonging to this Life, wherein
 “ I take any Pleasure: What there is now for
 “ me to do *here*, is more than I am able to say,
 “ there being now an End of all that I hop’d
 “ for

“ for in this World : There was one Thing,
 “ indeed, made me desirous of continuing for
 “ some Time on this Side o’ the Grave, that I
 “ might see Thee a thorough good Christian be-
 “ fore I died. This my God has abundantly
 “ made good to me, in letting me live to see
 “ Thee his faithful Servant, and able to de-
 “ spise such terrene Happinefs, as well as my-
 “ self.” St. *Austin* says, he does not well re-
 member what Reply he made to these Words of
 his Mother ; but when she was dying, and her
 Soul seem’d for some little Time to have taken
 its Flight, her Senses were soon restor’d, and
 she seeing him and his Brother standing by, she
 told ’em, “ That as to her Body, they might
 “ lay it where they pleased, but would not
 “ have them trouble themselves about the
 “ Manner of her Burial ; *All that I request of*
 “ *you is this, that as often as you approach*
 “ *the Altar of the Lord, you will not fail to*
 “ *remember me.*^a” St. *Austin* was soon at the
 Throne of Grace after his Mother’s Decease ;
 The Prayer is heavenly, truly becoming so great
 a Prelate ; and the pious Breathings, which re-
 commended his Mother’s *Soul*, exalted and really
 promoted the Good of his *own*. But this is
 all I shall say of it, unless you shall hereafter
 lay your Commands upon me to say more. I
 rather now proceed, in considering how we are

^a *Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini Altare memi-
 neritis mei ubi fueritis.*

to account for these *Appearances*: And, for my own Part, I cannot see any better Foundation to build on, than what *St. Austin* has laid down. If this be allow'd of, we need not have Recourse to any such extraordinary Method, as might probably be the Case of *Samuel*; nor need we suppose the *real* Soul of *Julius Cæsar* to have been at *Philippi*, when Heaven was determin'd to chastise a wretched *Brutus*. Take the Reflection made upon it, as it stands recorded in one of the greatest Monuments of Learning, that has appear'd in the present Age, (and which, 'tis likely, has a Place in your own Closet) *Dr. Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*.

“ The Murder of *Cæsar*, says he, was a most
 “ base and villanous Act, and was the more so,
 “ in that the prime Authors of it, *Marcus*
 “ *Brutus*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Tre-*
 “ *bonius*, and some others of them, were such
 “ as *Cæsar* had in the highest Manner obliged:
 “ Yet it was executed under the Notion of an
 “ high Heroick Virtue, in thus freeing their
 “ Country from one whom they called a Ty-
 “ rant; and there are not wanting such as are
 “ ready even in our Days to applaud the Act;
 “ But divine Justice declar'd itself otherwise
 “ in this Matter; for it pursued *every one* of
 “ them that were concern'd herein, with such
 “ a just and remarkable Revenge, that they
 “ were every Man of them cut off in a short
 “ Time after in a violent Manner, either by
 “ their own or other Men's Hands. — 'Tis
 “ evi-

“ evident, an over-ruling Power of Providence
 “ set up *Cæsar* as a fit Instrument for the Work
 “ which he brought to pass; carrying him
 “ through all Dangers and Hazards to the full
 “ accomplishing of it; and after that, when
 “ there was no more for him to do, cast him
 “ off to perish like a Rod, which is thrown in-
 “ to the Fire when no more to be us’d. The
 “ Work was God’s, but it being Malice and
 “ Ambition that excited him to be the Instru-
 “ ment in the Execution of it, he justly had
 “ for the Reward thereof that Destruction by
 “ which he fell — He sufficiently prov’d him-
 “ self to have been a terrible Scourge in the
 “ Hand of God, (having, as *Pliny* observes, in
 “ fifty Battles, which he fought, slain eleven
 “ hundred ninety-two thousand Men) for the
 “ Punishment of the Wickedness of that Age in
 “ which he liv’d; and consequently he is to
 “ be reputed the greatest Pest and Plague that
 “ Mankind then had therein: But notwith-
 “ standing this, his Actions have with many ac-
 “ quired great Glory to his Name; whereas
 “ true Glory is due only to those who benefit,
 “ not to those who destroy Mankind.” I flatter
 myself, you’ll pardon this Digression; and I
 proceed to observe, that if St. *Austin*’s Explica-
 tion of *Apparitions* be allow’d of, we easily ac-
 count, as Christians, for those *Communications*
 from the other World in *Dreams*, that have been
 so frequent in all Ages relating to *Futurity*;
 to the private or publick good; to the reward-
 ing of Virtue and the Punishment of Vice. There

is no one Thing, the whole World has all along been more agreed in, than this.* And though the Heathen were Strangers to the *Angelick Dispensation*, or God's governing the World in that Manner, with which we are well acquainted; yet these Things were carefully attended to by them: They knew, there must be some Power superior to themselves, who did these Things; the visible Effects of such a Power frequently admonish'd them, that 'twas their Duty and Interest to regard it. † “ I am of their Opinion, “ says the *Roman Orator*^a, who make two Sorts “ of *Divination*; the one, done by *Art*; the “ other, without any Art at all: The first Sort “ are those, who by Observation have learnt, “ how Things were formerly, and so are better able to form their Conjectures, how Things “ may fall out at present: But the other Sort “ are such, who use no Art at all, who either “ by a strong Emotion of Mind, or else by a “ free and easy Impulse, without reasoning upon the Matter, or making any Observation “ or Conjecture from external Objects, have a “ real Fore-knowledge of several Things that

* Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem, tamque barbaram, quæ non significari futura, & a quibusdam intelligi, prædicique posse censeat. *Cic. de Divin. Lib. I.*

† Quid quæris, Carneades, cur hæc ita fiant, aut qua arte perspici possint? nescire me fateor; evenire autem te ipsum dico videre. *Ibid.*

^a *Ibid.*

“ are to come to pass ; and the same Thing,
 “ says he, often happens to People in their
 “ Dreams, &c.” The many Instances that *Cicero*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch* and others have given, and so well attested by their own, and the Authority of others, concerning *Appearances*, whether in Dreams or otherways, are certainly best explain’d in the Manner that I have already laid down from *St. Austin*. For, when *Cicero* tells us ^b, from the Writings of *Dionysius*, of that great Prince *Cyrus*, that having seen in his Sleep the Sun lying at his Feet, and *thrice* endeavour’d, but in vain, to lay hold of it ; he was afterwards acquainted by the *Magi* (a wise and learned Sort of People that liv’d in *Persia*) that by the *Dream* was signified, he should reign *thirty* Years ; which so came to pass ; *Cyrus* living till he was seventy Years old, and began his Reign at forty ; who sees not, that the Almighty was then governing among the Heathen as well as among the *Hebrews*, and, by his subservient Ministers, was concerning himself as well in the Dream of *Cyrus*, as in the Interpretation of it ? “ ’Tis observable from most of
 “ our antient Historians, that when a People
 “ had once distinguish’d themselves in Wicked-
 “ ness, and their Sins becoming *national* made
 “ them ripe for divine Vengeance, and neces-
 “ sarily called for a *national* Punishment, such
 “ Punishment was usually signified by some pre-

^a *Ibid.*

"vious *Communications*, from the same infinite
 "Power that was to inflict it." *Hannibal*, af-
 ter he had ruin'd *Saguntum*, was favour'd with
 a remarkable *Vision*, letting him see before-hand,
 that he was the Instrument design'd by Heaven
 to check the Pride and Luxury of the haughty
Roman : The Account of this Matter is given
 us by *Cicero* ^a, who likewise quotes an Author
 for it, that had been very careful in writing a
 particular History of *Hannibal's* Affairs ; and
 the Account is this : " *Hannibal*, when he had
 " taken *Saguntum*, found himself one Night in
 " his Sleep summon'd, as he thought, by *Ju-*
 " *piter* to attend a Council held by the Gods ;
 " where being come, *Jupiter* commanded him,
 " that he should forthwith carry the War into
 " *Italy* ; and one of the Council being assign'd
 " him as a Guide or Leader in that Affair, and
 " he making use of him as such, thought he
 " had already put his whole Army in Motion ;
 " upon which his Leader charg'd him not to
 " look behind him ; but this having rais'd his
 " Curiosity, he could not long forbear casting
 " an Eye backward : When lo ! a Beast of a
 " monstrous Size, fierce, environ'd with Ser-
 " pents, and throwing down Houses, Trees, and
 " whatever came in its Way : This wonderful
 " Sight induced him, as he thought, to ask
 " of the God, what might be the Meaning
 " of such a Monster ; and that God answer'd

^a Lib. I. de Divin.

“ him. ’Twas to signify the Havock and Calamity that would befall *Italy*; and bad him proceed forthwith, and to take no Care about what might happen behind him.” This Dream or Vision, Madam, soon unriddles that Resolution of *Hannibal*’s passing over the *Alps*, and his surmounting so many Difficulties; Difficulties, so astonishing, that we are in some Sort of Pain for the Historians, when they relate the Facts — But so it was (as the Poet sings) after this Vision:

*Conquest with Laurels did his Arms adorn,
And Rome in Tears of Blood his Anger mourn.*

’Twas about six Years after the Death of *Hannibal*, and near two hundred before Christ, that the Temple at *Jerusalem* had like to have been plunder’d of an immense Treasure; but the Almighty prevented it by an extraordinary *Apparition*, which he appointed for that Purpose. We have the History in the second Book of the *Maccabees*. The *Apparition*, is expressed under the Resemblance of a Horse, a Rider, and two other young Men yet ’tis plainly said afterwards, that the Almighty Lord *appeared*. These Things were frequent under the *Jewish* Dispensation; and when we consider St. *Paul*’s Conversion; the *Appearance* to *Ananias*, and such other Occurrences in the New Testament, we shall find the same Things done under the *Christian* Dispensation likewise. That *Dreams* and *Visions*, were very common in the *Heathen* World,

World, as well as amongst the *Jews*, we find evident from the Accounts given in the Time of their Captivity : For 'tis not only said of *Daniels*. *That he had Understanding in all Visions and Dreams*; but also that the King of *Babylon* found him and his Companions *ten Times better than all the Magicians and Astrologers that were in all his Realm*. Had *Daniel*, Madam, lived in the Days of *Hannibal*, and convers'd with him, as he did with King *Nebuchadnezzar*, he would have improved *Hannibal's* Thoughts upon his *Visions*, by giving him right Notions of God's Providence; and there would not, in all Probability, have been so much Time spent, in convincing the one, *that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will*^a, as there was spent in convincing the other; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was first sent to graze with the Beasts, till his *Hairs were grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws*; and after that, *he bless'd the most High; confessing, that all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing; and that he doth according to his Will in the ARMY of HEAVEN, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth*. *Cicero* says^c, 'twas upon Record in their own *Annals*, when the Roman Army was press'd hard by the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius*, one of the Tribunes was advis'd not to expose himself in the Manner he did, that he return'd

^a Chap i.

^b Dan. iv. 32. עֲבַר בְּחַיִּל שְׁמַיָּא

^c Ibid.

for

for Answer, " He had already in his Dream
 " seen himself in the hottest Part of the Action,
 " but yet pushing the Enemy with great
 " Slaughter, and gaining immortal Honour; and
 " the Event was answerable." *Socrates*, was
 able to tell his Friend *Crito* with great Assurance,
 that after *three* Days he should die; which
 accordingly fell out; and he let his Friend far-
 ther know, that such Fore-knowledge was gi-
 ven him in his Sleep, under the Resemblance
 of a *very beautiful Woman*. *Socrates* was then
 confin'd, waiting the Will and Pleasure of his
 Enemies: Heaven thought fit to soften his Pas-
 sage, and that the Terrors of Death should be
 lessen'd by such a *Resemblance*. *Sophocles*,
 whom *Cicero* calls a *divine Poet*^a, saw that sa-
 crilegious Villain in his Sleep, who had sto-
 len one of the golden Vessels out of a Temple;
Sophocles for some Time took no Notice of the
 Dream; till, being frequently admonish'd in that
 Manner, he went up to the *Ariopagus*, and gave
 publick Notice of the Matter: Upon which, the
Ariopagites order'd the Person to be apprehend-
 ed, who, being interrogated, confess'd the Crime,
 and restor'd the Vessel. The *Roman* Orator in
 the Person of his Brother *Quinctus* takes Notice
^b of two very remarkable Dreams; so well
 known, and the Relators, Men of such Autho-
 rity, that he questions, if there be any one,
 that can possibly object to the Truth of them.

The first is, of one *Simonides*, who having buried a Stranger that he saw expos'd and wanted that common Piece of Humanity ; and he afterwards preparing to go on board a Ship, was forewarn'd by one who resembled the Person he had buried, that he should give over his intended Voyage, or that otherwise he would be Ship-wreck'd and lose his Life : Accordingly he turn'd back ; and the Rest that set sail, all perish'd at Sea. The *other*, is, of two *Arcadian* Friends travelling together, who when they came to a Place called *Megara*, the one lodg'd at an Inn ; the other at a Friend's House ; the latter, at the dead Time of the Night, thought he saw the other in his Sleep entreating him, that he would come to his Assistance ; for the Inn-Keeper was going to murder him : The Dream struck such a Terror, that he forthwith got up ; but after he had a-while recollected himself, and thought there was nothing of Reality in what he had seen, he laid himself down again ; and falling asleep, he was soon importun'd by the same Person, that, since he did not help him when alive, he would not fail to see Justice done, now he was dead ; and for that Purpose, let him know, that the Inn-Keeper had thrown his Body into a Cart, and covered it with Dung ; but requested, that he would be early at the Gate, before the Cart was gone out of Town ; the Dream then made such an Impression, that meeting with the Carter next Morning at the Gate, and putting the Question home to him, what he might have in his Cart ;
the

the Fellow was so confounded, that he immediately took to his Heels; the Corpse was dragg'd out; and the Inn-Keeper had the Punishment he deserv'd. The Remark that Cicero makes, Madam, is this — *What can possibly have more of Heaven in it, than this Dream? But why need we multiply Instances of this Nature* (says he) *or look back so far for them? You and I (Brother) have often talk'd of those two remarkable Dreams, which we have had ourselves; and the Event prov'd both of them to have been of an extraordinary Nature. Cicero there gives the Particulars too long to be inserted. He readily grants, that Dreams are, many of them false, and, perhaps, obscure: But then 'tis no good Objection, he says, because some Dreams are false, that therefore none are true: And the Remark he makes afterwards, is, I think, excellently good, and deserves the particular Notice of some Gentlemen^a, who are so apt to make themselves merry with their own idle Dreams and those of others, when in Reality they disqualify themselves, and are not capable of dreaming otherwise. Our Dreams would much oftner prove true, says Cicero, if we took Care to go to Bed sober: Whereas, when our Stomachs are over-charg'd with eating and drinking, whatever Things then*

^a ————— Corpus onustum
Heterinis Vitiis animum quoque prægravat una.

Hor.
present

present themselves, are seen in a confus'd and disorder'd Manner ^a. And *Cicero* there shews from *Plato*, that *Socrates* was of the same Opinion, and gives us likewise a Philosophical Account of it from the same Author; which I shall not trouble you with at present. I rather chuse to observe, how *Cicero* refines upon those antient Philosophers, and treats the Subject in Hand, after such a Manner, that few Christians will be found to have done it better. “ When the
 “ Soul, says he, in our Sleep has once withdrawn
 “ itself from its troublesome Companion the
 “ Body, it then calls to Mind Things that are
 “ past, takes a View of Things present, and
 “ sees Things afar off, that are to come: For
 “ as to the Body, when a Person is asleep, he
 “ lies as if he were dead: Whereas, the Soul is
 “ then lively and strong; and will be much
 “ more so after Death, when it has totally got
 “ rid of the Body: And therefore as the Dissolu-
 “ tion draws nearer, its Operations are pro-
 “ portionably more divine and powerful. This
 “ is plainly perceiv'd in any grievous and
 “ deadly Disease. Such Persons have common-
 “ ly Representations made to them of those that
 “ are dead; they are then chiefly concern'd
 “ for a good Name; and are most penitent for
 “ their Offences, if they have liv'd otherwise,

^a Quæ quidem somnia multo plura evenirent, si ad quietem integri iremus: Nunc onusti cibo & vino perturbata & confusa cernimus. *ib.*

“ than became ’em. But, that dying Persons
 “ do *divine*, or tell of Things to come, is
 “ evident from the Instance, given us by *Po-*
 “ *sidonius*, of one *Rhodius*, who, when a dy-
 “ ing, nam’d six Persons who were much of
 “ the same Age, and declar’d, which of ’em
 “ would die *first*, *second* and so on. ” ’Tis
 very plain from *Cicero*, there were a Sort of
 People in his Time, that gave no Credit to
 these Things; which makes him say — *I*
may seem to tell dismal Stories and idle Tales :
But I have heard you (Brother) tell something
upon the present Subject, that was plain Matter
of Fact, and had nothing of Fiction in it ; which
 was, that *C. Coponius*, a Man eminent for his
 Prudence and Learning, who commanded the
 Fleet at *Rhodes*, coming to you from *Dyrrba-*
chium (in *Sicily*) said, that a Waterman belong-
 ing to one of the *Rhodian* Five-Oar Gallies
 had foretold, that *Greece* within less than thirty
 Days would be wash’d in Blood; that *Dyrrba-*
chium would be plunder’d; Men making their
 Escape by Sea, and leaving the Town behind
 them all in Flames; but that the *Rhodian* Fleet
 would soon have it in their Power to return
 Home: “ You yourself could not help being
 “ concern’d at that Time, and *Marcus Varro*,
 “ and *M. Cato*, who were then present, were
 “ under a very great Consternation: And truly,
 “ a few Days after, *Labienus* came, one of
 “ those that had been put to Flight at the Bat-
 “ tle of *Pharsalia*; and all the Rest of the
 K “ the

“ the Prophecy was fulfill’d in a little Time. ^a”
Calpurnia’s Dream, Madam, that first surpriz’d
 you, in reading *Shakespear*, and since occasion’d
 all the Trouble I am now giving you, has
 very good Authority to support the Truth of it,
 as you rightly conjectur’d when we first talk’d
 of it. *Valerius Maximus*, who writ about the
 Beginning of *Tiberius’s* Reign, gives this Ac-
 count of *Calpurnia*, which he introduces thus:
 “ *The Night before the Battle at Philippi,*
 “ (when the two Armies were drawn up ready
 “ to engage; *Octavius* and *Anthony* on the one
 “ Hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other)
 “ *Artorius*, who was *Octavius’s* Physician, re-
 “ ceiv’d a Command in his Dream, under the
 “ Representation of *Minerva*, that he should ad-
 “ vise *Octavius* not to slay in his Tent, though
 “ he was at that Time very ill, but rather to be
 “ carried out the next Day into the Field of
 “ Battle; *Augustus* comply’d with the Admo-
 “ nition given him by his Physician, being car-
 “ ried out in a Litter; and whilst he was in-
 “ tent upon Victory more than his Strength
 “ would allow of; *Brutus* forc’d his Camp; and
 “ his Soldiers entring *Octavius’s* Tent, push’d
 “ their Swords thro’ the Bed where they thought
 “ he lay: And how can we ascribe this De-
 “ liverance (says *Valerius*) to any Thing else,
 “ but to a divine Providence? There was a
 “ late Instance. that made *Octavius* the more
 “ inclin’d to hearken to *Artorius’s* Dream;

“ and that was Calphurnia’s Dream relating
 “ to Julius Cæsar, who had adopted Octa-
 “ vius. Octavius had heard, that Calphur-
 “ nia had seen her Husband, the Night before
 “ he died, in her Sleep, stabb’d in many Places,
 “ and lying in her Bosom; upon which, she was
 “ very importunate with him that he would
 “ not go to the Senate-House the next Day; but
 “ thinking that he should be reflected on, for
 “ minding a Woman’s Dream, he was resolv’d
 “ to go, and so was murder’d ^a. Suetonius,
 Madam, who liv’d in *Trjan’s* Time, and writ
 the Lives of the twelve Cæsars, takes Notice of
 several Prodigies pointing out the Death of *Ju-*
lius Cæsar, and appeals to the Authority of an
 intimate Friend of Cæsar’s concerning such Mat-
 ters. He says of Cæsar himself, “ That the
 “ Night before he was kill’d, he seem’d in his
 “ Sleep to be sometimes flying above the Clouds;
 “ at other Times to be shaking Hands with *Ju-*
 “ *piter* himself: That his Wife *Calphurnia*
 “ thought, she saw the Cupola of the House
 “ tumbling, and her Husband stabb’d in her
 “ Lap; and on a sudden the Chamber Doors flew
 “ open of their own Accord: But Cæsar scorn’d
 “ to regard these Things, and in a scoffing Way
 “ upbraided *Spurina*, that the *Ides* of *March*
 “ were come, but yet no Harm: To which he
 “ reply’d, with a low Voice, that they were
 “ come indeed, but not *past*. *Plutarch*, Ma-
 dam, who was cotemporary with *Suetonius*, tells

^a Lib. 1. Cap. 81, 82.

us, that *Calpurnia* was the Daughter of *Piso* (a noble Family in *Rome*) and that *Cæsar* upon his Marriage, made *Piso* Consul for the Year following; upon which, *Cato* protested, exclaim'd, and grew very Noisy; that it was a Thing not to be endur'd, that the Government should be so Prostituted; or that Marriage should have such Influence, that *all Promotions* in the Common-Wealth should be made subject to a *Female* Administration. And yet you see, Madam, what little Power *Calpurnia* had over her Husband, when even his own Life was at Stake; notwithstanding the Clamour of that Malecontent; and sure, it had been much better for *Cæsar*, supposing he did part with the Reins of Government, when he first married (as *Cato* objected) not to have taken them *wholly* out of her Hands again, but to have made a just Compliment of some Part of it, for his own Advantage, and not stubbornly to have decreed her *Judgment* to be so much inferior to his own. Besides, she deserv'd much better at his Hands, than his former Wife *Pompeia*. *Plutarch* likewise takes Notice of many more Prodigious relating to *Cæsar's* Death, than is done by *Suetonius*, and quotes *Strabo* as to some Particulars; among other Things of this Nature mention'd by *Plutarch*, 'tis observable, that *Cæsar*, the Night before, doing *Marcus Lepidus* the Honour of Supping with him, and some Discourse happening to arise, what *Kind of Death* was most eligible, he immediately cry'd out, before any other, *A sudden Death*; tho' he
was

was busying himself in signing Letters at the same Time. *Plutarch* lets us know farther, that the Arguments which *Calpurnia* used, and the Manner in which she expressed herself, did very much affect *Cæsar*; especially, when he recollected, that he had never before observ'd her to be *superstitiously* inclin'd; whereas she was now impatient and affected in an extraordinary Manner; and had it not been for the vile Suggestions of *Decius Brutus Albinus*, those Arguments had undoubtedly prevail'd: *Calpurnia* had saved her Husband, and *Rome* their Dictator. 'Tis the same Author, Madam, that gives an Account of the *Apparition* to *Brutus*. *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus* was naturally very Watchful, and by Exercise and Temperance had habitually accustom'd himself to sleep very little; and his Custom was to sleep a-while after Supper, and then to devote the Rest of the Night to his weighty Affairs; and after that, if he had any Time to spare, he used to spend it in reading some Book or other, till the *third* Watch; which was the Time, the Commanding Officers used to come to him: *Brutus* then, at the dead Time of the Night, when there was a profound Silence through the whole Army, being full of Thought and projecting with himself, as well about transporting the Forces out of *Asia*, as other important Matters, and having but a dim Light in his Tent, perceiv'd some Body, as he thought, coming into his Room: And turning his Eyes towards the Door, he saw a Person of an unusual

usual Size, grim and terrible in his Aspect, standing near him, but not speaking a Word : Upon which *Brutus* taking Courage, said, *Art thou Flesh and Blood, or art thou from amongst the Gods ? What wouldst thou have ? And wherefore comest thou hither ?* The Apparition with a hollow Voice said, *I am thy evil Genius, Brutus : But thou shalt see me at Philippi.* *Brutus*, without any Concern, replied, *I'll see thee.* There was accordingly the same Appearance at *Philippi*, but it said nothing, and forthwith vanished. *Brutus* told *Cassius* of this Appearance, the first Time it happened : They had been often used to dispute about such Matters ; and *Cassius*, being fond of *Epicurus's* Notions, endeavoured to argue *Brutus* into a Disbelief of the Apparition : But *Brutus* found it true to the last. The same Historian, where he is running the Parallel between *Dion* and *Brutus*, says : “ But “ that which is most of all to be wonder'd at “ in those two Men, is, that a frightful ill-na- “ tured Demon visibly appear'd to both, and “ also appriz'd both of their Deaths. 'Tis in- “ deed the common Way of talking, among “ such as deny these Things, that no Man in “ his right Senses ever saw a *Phantom* or an “ Appearance of any Sort ; but that only Chil- “ dren and silly Women, or else Men who have “ an ill Habit of Body and a distemper'd Brain, “ have such idle incoherent Fancies come into “ their Heads, superstitiously believing that they “ are haunted by some evil Spirit : But if *Dion* “ and *Brutus*, who were Philosophers ; grave “ judi-

“ judicious Men ; no Ways credulous, or haf-
 “ tily giving into any Opinion, were fo far af-
 “ fected with an *Apparition*, as to acquaint
 “ their Friends with it, I don’t fee how we can
 “ well avoid admitting *again* the exploded O-
 “ pinion of the Antients ; that wicked deluding
 “ Spirits, envying *good* Men, oppofe all that
 “ they do ; injecting Fears and raifing Disturb-
 “ ances in their Breafte, that they may shake
 “ and undermine their Virtue ; left by a fteady
 “ and fincere Practice thereof, they fhould ob-
 “ tain a better Condition after Death than them-
 “ felves. *Blutarch*, you fee, Madam, was no
 Sceptick, as to the other World ; and the old
 exploded Opinion he talks of, is certainly a good
 Chriftian Doctrine now : But then, you eafily
 perceive, that the *Doctrine* is not rightly apply’d,
 in Regard to *Apparitions*. *Pliny*, the *Younger*,
 that great *Mæcenæ*s of his Time, and as able a
 Statesman under the Emperor *Trajan*, had this
 Affair of *Apparitions* very much at Heart ; and,
 when he had Time to fpare, would confult his
 more judicious Friends about it. There’s a
 whole Letter of his ^a to his Friend *Sura* upon
 this very Subject ; which I’ll venture to tran-
 flate, as well as I can : But very often ’tis not
 eafy to put *Pliny* in an *English* Drefs. “ The
 “ prefent Recess (fays he) from Bufinefs gives
 “ me the Opportunity of *learning*, and you of
 “ *informing* me, upon the following Subject : I

^a Lib. VII.

“ have a great Desire to have your Opinion a-
 “ bout *Apparitions* ; whether there really be
 “ such Things ; whether they have their pe-
 “ culiar Forms or Shapes allotted them ; and
 “ whether some divine Power is concern’d in
 “ it ; or whether it be all a vain Chimæra, and
 “ such Representations owing to our Fears only :
 “ For my own Part, what chiefly inclines me to
 “ believe such Things, is that which I hear
 “ happened to *Curtius Rufus*. When he was
 “ a Person low and obscure in the World, wait-
 “ ing upon the *Quæstor* in *Africa*, and one Day
 “ towards the Evening stalking about and mu-
 “ sing in the *Piazza*, there *appeared* to him
 “ one, in the Shape of a Woman, bigger than
 “ the Life, and as much exceeding in Beauty :
 “ He being very much shocked at the *Sight*, she
 “ told him that she was an *African*, come to
 “ tell him his Fortune ; that he would go to
 “ *Rome*, there have Honours conferred on him^a ;
 “ and after that would return into the same
 “ Province, vested with the highest Authority,
 “ and there die. Now all these Things came
 “ to pass accordingly : Nay, moreover, when
 “ he arrived at *Carthage*, and whilst he was
 “ disembarking, ’tis said, there was the very
 “ same *Appearance* on the Sea-Shore, as he
 “ had seen before. When Sickness at length
 “ had seized him, and he guessing what would
 “ follow from what was already past ; *viz.* the
 “ dark and gloomy Part of Life, after a Scene

^a *Tacitus* relates the Story more particularly.

“ of Prosperity ; ’tis certain, he did not enter-
 “ tain the least Hopes of Recovery himself,
 “ whilst not one of his Friends could see any
 “ Reason to despair of it. Another Incident,
 “ rather more terrible than the former, and
 “ every whit as astonishing, I’ll give you an
 “ Account of, just as I received it myself.
 “ There was at *Athens* a large spacious House ;
 “ but it had got an ill Name of being *haunted*,
 “ and no Body was able to live in it : About
 “ Midnight there was a Noise ; and, if you
 “ was very attentive, you might fancy the rat-
 “ tling of Chains one against another, and per-
 “ ceive such rattling to hold longer, every Time
 “ it was repeated : Soon after this *appeared*
 “ the Resemblance of a Meagre, ill-favoured
 “ old Man with a long Beard, a frightful Head
 “ of Hair, his Legs fettered, and his Hands
 “ chained ; and these he shook and rattled to-
 “ gether : This so terrified the Domesticks,
 “ that they passed their Nights in a very sad,
 “ dismal Manner ; want of Sleep threw them
 “ into Distempers, and, their Fears encreasing,
 “ often ended in Death : For even in the Day-
 “ time, though the *Spectre* was gone, their
 “ Imagination was as strongly affected, as if
 “ ’twas really before their Eyes ; so that the
 “ Fears of the *Spectre*, when present, occasi-
 “ oned Fears of a longer Continuance, whilst
 “ absent : Upon this, the House was quitted,
 “ and left to the *hideous* Monster to range
 “ about in alone : However, a Bill was put up
 “ upon the Door, if any one should be incli-
 L “ ned

“ ned either to purchase or to hire it, ignorant
 “ of so great an Inconvenience attending it.
 “ There happened *soon after* to come to *Athens*
 “ a Philosopher called *Athenodorus*, who read-
 “ ing the Bill that was put up; and the *low*
 “ Price at which it was set, raising a Suspici-
 “ on, and putting him upon making a farther
 “ Enquiry, he was soon let into the whole Se-
 “ cret; but nevertheless, nay, rather, upon that
 “ very Account, he resolves to rent it. Accord-
 “ ingly, when the Evening drew near, he or-
 “ ders his Bed to be made in the first Apart-
 “ ment *forward*, and calls for his Candle, Pen,
 “ Ink, and Paper; and having dismissed all his
 “ Family to their several Apartments *backwards*,
 “ at a Distance from him, he sets himself to
 “ writing; his Hand, Eyes and Brain being all
 “ employed at once; that so his Soul might
 “ have no Time allowed it, either for imagining
 “ the Things he had heard reported, or for
 “ suggesting any idle Fears. The first Part of
 “ the Night, all was hush and quiet, as usual;
 “ afterwards the Iron began to be shook, and
 “ the Chains to stir: *Athenodorus* neither
 “ looks up, nor lays down his Pen, but takes
 “ fresh Courage, and resolves to shut his Ears:
 “ Then the Noise began to increase, and some-
 “ thing was heard to come forwards, as if it
 “ was sometimes at the Door, at other Times
 “ within-side: Then *Athenodorus* looks back,
 “ sees and perceives the *Apparition* to be just
 “ the same, as it had been described to him:
 “ It stood and beckened with a Finger, as one
 “ does

“ does in calling another to him: *Atheno-*
 “ *dorus*, on the contrary, let him know, by the
 “ Motion of his Hand, that he should wait a
 “ little; and then falls to writing again: Upon
 “ which the *Apparition* rattled his Chains
 “ about the others Ears, as he was writing:
 “ *Athenodorus* looks back again, and sees the
 “ *Apparition* beckoning as before; upon which,
 “ immediately he takes up his Candle, and fol-
 “ lows it. It went on very slowly, as if its
 “ Chains had been Burthenfome: After it had
 “ turn’d aside into a Court-Yard belonging to
 “ the House, it soon vanishes, leaving its
 “ Companion *Athenodorus*; who being thus
 “ left alone, gets some Grass and Leaves, and
 “ lays them in a Heap, to mark the Place of
 “ *their parting*. The next Day he goes to the
 “ Magistrates, and advises them to give Or-
 “ ders, to have the Place search’d: Upon dig-
 “ ing; Bones are found link’d together, bare
 “ and corroded by the Chains, after Time and
 “ Mother Earth had corrupted the Flesh: The
 “ Bones being laid together, have publick Bu-
 “ rial given them: After the Funeral Rites
 “ were over, the House was no longer haunted.
 “ And those, who affirm this Matter to be true,
 “ are Persons that I give Credit to. One Thing
 “ more, I am able to aver the Truth of my-
 “ self: I have a Domestick, called *Mark*, no
 “ illiterate Fellow; who has a younger Bro-
 “ ther that lies in the same Bed with him: He
 “ one Night thought he saw a Person sitting
 “ up in his Bed, clapping a Pair of Scissors to

“ his Head, and cutting the Hair off from the
 “ very Crown: When ’twas Day-light, he found
 “ the Crown of his Head shav’d, and the Hairs
 “ lying about upon the Bed. Some little Time
 “ after that, another Thing happen’d of the
 “ like Nature, which serves to confirm the for-
 “ mer. One of the Boys being asleep, with
 “ many more in the Lodging-room belong-
 “ ing to Servants, two Persons in white
 “ *Tunicks*, seem’d to come through the Window,
 “ and to clip off his Hair, as he lay in Bed;
 “ and after this, went back again the same
 “ Way they came in: When Day appear’d,
 “ this Boy’s Head was likewise found to be
 “ shav’d, and the Locks of Hair scatter’d about.
 “ Nothing remarkable follow’d, unless, it may
 “ be that I was not *arraign’d* at the Bar; as I
 “ should have been, if *Domitian* had liv’d a
 “ little longer, under whose Reign these Things
 “ happen’d: For one *Carus* having turn’d an In-
 “ former against me, the Libel was found in
 “ *Domitian’s* Desk: From which Event, there’s
 “ Room for Conjecture, that, as ’tis the Custom
 “ for *Defendants* to let their Hair grow long,
 “ so the cutting off the Hair from my two
 “ Servants might signify, that the Danger which
 “ threatn’d their Master would soon be over.
 “ I beg of you then, to exert yourself, and
 “ shew the Learning you are Master of, upon
 “ this Occasion; ’Tis a Subject, that deserves
 “ to be seriously and thoroughly consider’d by
 “ you: Nor yet am I unworthy, to be made
 “ wiser by your diffusive Knowledge. More-
 “ over,

“ over, tho’ you can argue, as you are used to
 “ do, on either Side of the Question ; yet do it
 “ strenuously on one Side, lest you leave me
 “ in Suspence ; and when the very Reason of
 “ my consulting you was, that there might be
 “ no more doubting of the Matter. Farewel.”

You see, Madam, with what an honest Simplicity this great Statesman talks of *Apparitions*. Tho’ he makes a Compliment to *Sura* for farther Information, yet, you may observe, he is rather instructing than inquiring of his Friend at the same Time. His own sound Judgment was sufficiently well known through the whole *Roman Empire* ; nor was there a greater Patron of Learning, or any one less a Stranger to it, than himself : But what makes him shine the most in the *Christian World*, is, the handsome Apology he makes for the Christians, when he writes to his great Master *Trajan* : “ He lets him know, that the Christians
 “ were a People, not addicted to any Sort of
 “ Wickedness, as far as he was able to discover ; nor was any Thing done by them contrary, to the *Roman Laws* : For, as to Adultery and other enormous Crimes of that Nature, they were Things which they utterly
 “ abominated—— only, they caball’d, in
 “ getting together before Day-break, to sing
 “ their Hymns to a certain God called Christ.”

The Christians, you see, in the Beginning of the second Century, extorted much the same Confession from *Pliny*, as the great Author and Finisher of our Faith did from *Pilate*, *What evil*
hath

hatb he done? I find no Fault in this Man.
 I am here reminded of putting an End to this
 long Letter, and of giving you shortly the Trou-
 ble of another concerning the *Dream of Pilate's*
Wife. But I am sensible, I have not yet ac-
 quitted myself of the Promise I made you, till I
 say something of *Apparitions*, well attested, in
 the *Christian Church.* This often happen'd in
 the *Infancy* of Christianity, occasion'd chiefly by
 Heathen Powers triumphing in the Blood of its
 Professors. A Martyrdom often produc'd an
Apparition; and *that* as often work'd the Con-
 version of Thousands. When a Saint had first
 bore its Testimony in the Flames, and after
 that return'd with a Commission from the other
 World, 'twas then high Time for an Infi-
 del to renounce his Country Gods, and to look
 up to the *Saviour* of Mankind. I can assure
 you, Madam, 'twas *your Sex* made that glori-
 ous Figure during those hot Persecutions; who
 were often distinguish'd from Heaven after their
 cruel Deaths; and were made the Instruments
 of conveying *new Life* to those, who had ta-
 ken away their own. 'Twas the great, the re-
 nown'd *Potamiena*, who was *thus* honour'd,
 after her *Martyrdom*, for the Good of Mankind,
 under the Emperor *Severus*; who was two
 Years in *Great-Britain*, about the Beginning of
 the third Century, and is said to have died here
 of the *Gout* at *York.* The Sufferings of *Pota-*
miena, and her *Appearance* afterwards to *Basi-*
lides her Executioner, has no less Authority to
 support it, than that of *Eusebius*, who was li-
 ving

ving about the latter End of the *same* Century ; an Author, which I have had Occasion to mention to you before : And it may be safely said (as a late Prelate of our own expresses himself) that he is a Stranger to *Eusebius*, that knows him not to be as nice and curious in examining the Credit of his Authorities, as any the most critical Authors whatsoever. Now, *Eusebius* says ^a, the Fact was much talk'd of by the Inhabitants, where *Potamiena* liv'd, even in his Time : She was in her Person very Beautiful ; but yet more distinguish'd by her Chastity, in the many Repulses which her hot Lovers met with ; and a thousand Hardships she underwent for her Faith in Christ : After she had suffer'd the most exquisite Torments (frightful even to relate them) she was at last Burnt with her Mother *Marcella*. When *Potamiena* was led to the Place of Execution, by *Basilides* the proper Officer, and the Mob teasing and reviling with their filthy, obscene Expressions ; *Basilides* push'd them off, and shew'd a great deal of Pity and Humanity to her. *Potamiena* taking kindly the Concern, that *Basilides* had shewn for her, bade him take Courage ; assuring him, that after her Death she would petition her Lord and Saviour in his Behalf, and that he should shortly be Rewarded for what he had done for her. Accordingly, soon after her Death, *Basilides* being call'd upon, on some Account or

^a Hist. Eccl. L. 6. C. 5.

other, to take an Oath, he averr'd, that 'twas by no Means lawful for him to take it; for he was a *Christian*, and as such he then declar'd himself. Those who *summon'd him* thought at first, that he had been in Jest; but having persisted in it, he was carried before the Magistrate; and there acknowledging the Charge of *being a Christian*, he was immediately laid in Irons. Some godly Brethren coming to him, and enquiring what might occasion such a sudden and unexpected Change of Mind, he is said to have reply'd, That *Potamiena*, three Days after her Martyrdom, stood by him at Night, putting a Crown on his Head, and letting him know, that she had supplicated the Lord in his Behalf; that her Request was answered, and that in a little Time he would be Happy. *Basilides* made a glorious Confession of his Faith, and had his Head sever'd from his Body. And this occasion'd the Conversion of many more among the People at *Alexandria*, induc'd thereto by the Appearance of *Potamiena* in a *Vision* to *Basilides*. The *Vision* that *Alexander* had soon after, directing him to leave *Cappadocia*, and to repair to *Jerusalem*, in order to be Bishop of that Place, and the Brethren *there* having also a *Vision* to the same Purpose, is attested by *Eusebius* in as strong a Manner, as we can desire any Part of History to be. I will give it you, as briefly as I can. This *Alexander* had signaliz'd himself very much during the Persecution; and God in his good Providence had wonderfully protected him: 'Twas now reveal'd

to

to him in a *Vision* at Night, says *Eusebius*^a, that he should go to *Jerusalem*, and assist in the Bishoprick then held by *Narcissus*, who was a hundred and sixteen Years old: The Brethren belonging to the Church at *Jerusalem* had not only the like *Revelation* made to them; but some of them, who were the most observing, heard a distinct Voice, signifying that they should go without the City, and there receive the Bishop that God had appointed them. This they did with the common Approbation of the Bishops belonging to the neighbouring Churches, and having thus receiv'd *Alexander*, they oblig'd him to continue amongst them; and upon the Death of *Narcissus*, *Alexander* became sole Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as he was before Coadjutor in the same Office. But, perhaps, the most remarkable *Apparition*, that God appointed, during the several *Persecutions*, was that which *Gregory* Bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* had in the third Century, upon his taking on him that weighty Office. I shall not venture to give you the Account itself, Madam, without premising some few Things; as well to introduce, as to establish the Truth of so great an Event, that happen'd in the *Primitive Church*; *Gregory's* Parents were Heathens; but he having studied at *Alexandria*, *Athens*, and other Places, came at last to *Cæsarea*, where he went through a Course of all the polite Parts of Learning under his great

^a Lib. 6. C. 11.

Master *Origen* ; with whom he lived about five Years ; and during that Time was thoroughly instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion^a : After this, *Gregory's* whole Life was one continued Scene of *Wonders*, which God enabled him to work in Confirmation of the Doctrine he professed ; and for that Reason, he has been distinguished all along in the Christian Church by the Names of *Theodorus* and *Thaumaturgus*. St. *Basil*, who lived about the Middle of the next Century, speaks thus of St. *Gregory*^b :
 “ When we consider *Gregory* the Great, and
 “ the Words which he spake ; in what Class
 “ sh^{ll} we place him ? Shall we not rank him
 “ with the Apostles and Prophets ? a Man who
 “ walked with the same Spirit as they did ;
 “ who, without deviating, trod in the Steps of
 “ those Holy Men ; and whose Life was con-
 “ formable to the strictest Rules of the Gospel.
Gregory, Bishop of *Nyssa*, younger Brother of St. *Basil*, is the Person that writes the Life of this great Man, *Gregory Thaumaturgus* ; and (as a late eminent Prelate of our own has observed)
^c the Bishop of *Nyssa* was truly qualified for such a Work, because he was thoroughly acquainted with the Writings and Actions of St. *Gregory*. And now, Madam, I will venture to give you an Account of the *Apparition* to St. *Gregory*, as

^a *Vid.* Cave Hist. Lit.

^b In Lib. de Spiritu Sancto, Cap. 29.

^c Bulli Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, Sect. 2. Cap. 12.

'tis in his Life, written by the Bishop Nyssa^a; I think myself the more obliged to use this Caution, because we live in an Age, wherein we but seldom hear of such Things, from any Primitive Writers, in our *own* Language; or if we do, too many are apt ignorantly to cry out *Popery*, and then think, that's sufficient to confute the Writer; though the Matter related, may, perhaps, have been several hundred Years before *Popery* was in being; and, consequently, such Declaimers do unwarily *arraign* the very Religion which they profess. The Account then, without any more Ceremony, is this: " When
 " *Gregory Thaumaturgus* had supplicated the
 " Almighty, that he might have a thorough
 " Knowledge given him of that Religion which
 " he was then going to preach; and one Night
 " being very thoughtful about his *Pastoral* Of-
 " fice; what Method he should take, in deli-
 " vering *sound* Doctrine; as also what the several
 " Points were then controverted concerning the
 " *blest Trinity*; he had thereupon a *Revelati-*
 " *on* made to him from Heaven: Nor, indeed (says
 Bishop Bull)^b ought it to appear incredible to
 any one, that a Thing of this Nature should hap-
 pen to a MAN, whose whole Life, as all Eccle-
 siastical Historians, who mention him (and there
 are scarce any, but do) unanimously agree, was
 remarkably famous, as well for Revelations as

^a Greg. Nyss. Opp. 3 Tom.

^b Vide ut supra.

Miracles done by him. The Revelation then, made to St. Gregory, was in the Manner following : “ There appeared to him, when awake, “ one resembling an old Man ; in his Habit “ august and noble ; venerable and graceful “ in his Person, and of a pleasing Aspect ; all “ serving to express the Dignity and Excellency “ of the Man : Upon this, St. Gregory being “ astonished rose from his Bed ; wanting to “ know who it might be, and upon what Account he came : The other, having first with “ a low and submissive Voice lessened the Surprise, and composed the Mind of St. Gregory, “ told him, that he *appeared*, by the Appointment of the Almighty, on Account of those “ Matters, about which he had been hesitating ; that so the Truth might be manifested “ to every pious Believer : This being said, St. “ Gregory took Courage, and look’d at him with “ some Sort of Pleasure, but yet amazed at the “ same Time : After this, the *Apparition* stretching out his Hand directly forwards, and, as it “ were, pointing out to something that was on “ the other Side ; and St. Gregory turning his “ Eyes accordingly, perceived another *Apparition* under the Resemblance of a Woman ; “ but seemingly superior to any Mortal whatever. St. Gregory being again astonished, and “ looking downwards, was at a Loss how to behave at such a Sight, not being able to behold the *Apparition* : And, what was farther “ very surprizing in this *Vision*, though ’twas “ a very dark Night, there was a Light shining “ round

“ round about those who *appeared*, as if some
 “ great Torch had been burning. Being then
 “ unable to look on, he gave Attention to the
 “ Discourse that passed between the Persons so
 “ *appearing*, concerning what he wanted to
 “ know ; by which Means, he was not only
 “ truly instructed in what related to his Faith,
 “ but knew moreover *by Name* those who *ap-*
 “ *peared* to him ; they addressing each other by
 “ a proper *Appellation* : For he is said to have
 “ heard the Person, who *appeared* like a Woman,
 “ exhorting the other under the Name of *John*
 “ the *Evangelist*, to make manifest the Mystery
 “ of Godliness to one, who was yet a Novice
 “ therein ; the other replying, that he was rea-
 “ dy to perform what was so agreeable to the
 “ *Mother of our Lord* ; and St. *John* having
 “ made a suitable Discourse to St. *Gregory*,
 “ drawn into a narrow Compass, they both *dis-*
 “ *appeared*. St. *Gregory* immediately commit-
 “ ted to writing the divine Instructions, that
 “ were given him : By *these* he regulated all
 “ the Sermons he afterwards preached ; and
 “ what he received from Heaven, he bequeathed
 “ as a Legacy to Posterity ; agreeable to which,
 “ the People of that Place (*viz. Neo-Cæsarea*)
 “ are instructed to this very Day, and continue
 “ Proof against all *Heretical Pravity*.” This lat-
 ter Part of the Account, Madam, was one Thing
 that weighed very much with Bishop Bull ^a,

^a Vide ut supra.

The History is given us (says he) by that great Man (meaning the Bishop of Nyssa) in such a Manner, that no Man of Judgment can well doubt of it : For, he tells us, that the People of Neo-Cæsarea were instructed, to that very Day, in this Confession of Faith that Gregory Thaumaturgus had received ; and that they continued free from all Manner of Heresy. He that has a Mind to be farther satisfied about this Matter (says the Bishop of Nyssa) let him hear the Church, where the Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea preached, and where these Things, under his own blessed Hand-writing are still preserved. You see, the very Hand-writing of Thaumaturgus is appealed to (says Bishop Bull) and that the People of Neo-Cæsarea had religiously preserved it till the Time that the Bishop of Nyssa wrote his Life. This Confession of Faith was received in the Church, as derived from Thaumaturgus, in the Time of St. Basil ; and was admitted as such by all the Fathers in the fifth General Council. 'Tis related by St. Austin, in his Epistle to Paulinus, de Cura pro Mortuis, &c. that Fælix one of the Martyrs, when the City of Nola in Italy was hard pressed by a rude barbarous Sort of People, appeared, not to one Person only, but to Numbers of the Citizens at once, being such of the Inhabitants, for whom formerly Fælix had a great Respect ; And St. Austin says, that he had unquestionable Authority for what he so relates ^a. The Vision that Con-

^a Non incertis rumoribus, sed Testibus certis.

stantine had, though 'tis well known, and often talked of, yet I cannot pass it over; considering 'tis so well attested by *Eusebius*, who tells us, that he had the Account from *Constantine's* own Mouth; *Constantine* appealing to Heaven for the Truth of what he was going to tell; and a little Time sufficiently confirmed it ^a. The Account given by *Eusebius*, is as follows:

“ About three of the Clock in the Afternoon,
 “ *Constantine* said, that he saw, with his own
 “ Eyes, a Pillar of Light in the Heavens in
 “ the Fashion of a Cross, placed over the Sun,
 “ whereon was an Inscription, (*Eusebius* does
 “ not say in what Language; but in the *Greek*,
 “ which is the Language *Eusebius* writes in,
 “ the Purport was) IN THIS OVERCOME.
 “ *Constantine* was much startled, and so was the
 “ whole Army that beheld it. *Constantine* was
 “ in doubt for some time, as he told me, what
 “ might be the Meaning of this *Appearance*;
 “ and whilst he was musing and reasoning with
 “ himself about it, Night came on; when our
 “ Lord *appeared* to him in a Dream with the
 “ Cross in his Hand, charging him to make a
 “ *Standard*, that should resemble what he had
 “ so seen in the Heavens, and to have it born
 “ before him, when he attacked his Enemies,
 “ as an Ensign of Victory and Safety. *Constan-*
 “ *tine* getting up early in the Morning, dis-
 “ closed the whole Affair to his Friends: and

^a Euseb. L. 1. de Vita Const. C. 28. &c.

“ calling his Goldsmiths and Jewellers together,
 “ he sits down amongst them, and describes the
 “ Form of the Thing he would have made,
 “ and gave strict Orders that the Figure should
 “ be exprest with Gold and precious Stones ;
 “ and *such Standard*, *Eusebius* says, he has some-
 “ times seen himself. The Symbol, Madam,
 “ was thus,



as 'tis describ'd by *Eusebius* at large ; and we
 often meet with it in the Reverse of the *Roman*
 Coins ; the X, and the P struck through the
 former, being the two first Letters of Christ's
 Name in *Greek*. I do assure you, Madam, this
 Letter would soon swell into a large Volume,
 should I pursue the Subject I am now upon ;
 but I shall not proceed any farther, unless you
 are pleased to require more of this Nature ano-
 ther Time. Give me Leave to reflect a while up-
 on what has been said already, and then to be-
 lieve it Time to take my Leave. In the last In-
 stance but one, 'tis expressly said, that 'twas
 done by the *Appointment of the Almighty* : But
 I neither learn from the Bishop of *Nyssa* the
 Relator, nor from any other Father of the Pri-
 mitive Church, that it was the *real* Soul of the
 Virgin *Mary*, or of *St. John* the *Evangelist* that
appeared ; and therefore am rather inclined to
 account for such *Appearances*, in the Manner
St. Austin has supposed, and which, you may
 please

please to remember, I have already taken Notice of : And since we are assured, there are such Numbers of *ministring Spirits* ; why may we not suppose, that God *in general* may communicate his Mind to Mankind in *that* Way, when the Methods of his Providence upon any extraordinary Occasions shall so require it, either by *Dream, Vision*, or such *external Appearance* ? I remember St. *Austin* in another Place^a, Reasons after this Manner ; but does it with singular Modesty : Nor would I offer it *otherwise* to you. He there says, when commenting upon that Passage in the Book of *Genesis*, of *God's talking with Man* whom he had formed out of the Ground, “ That, if we are
 “ to understand it *literally*, it should seem to
 “ have been done by assuming a *Human Shape*^b.
 “ 'Tis true, says he, this is not expressly laid
 “ down in that Book : But that Circumstance
 “ of *Speech* ; and moreover, *Adam's* being
 “ said to have *heard* the *Voice* of the Lord
 “ walking in the cool of the Day, and to have
 “ answered, *I heard thy Voice* and hid myself
 “ *from thy Face* because I was naked, seem to
 “ imply as much : Nor do I see, says St. *Austin*,
 “ how these Expressions can be taken in a *li-*
 “ *teral* Sense, without admitting 'a *Human*
 “ *Likeness*. It cannot well be said, that there
 “ was a *Voice only*, and nothing else ; because
 “ He is said to have *walked* ; and if *walking*,

^a Lib. 2. de Trin. C. 19.

^b In specie Hominis videtur Deus cum Homine tunc locutus.

“ then *visible*, in such Manner as *Adam* might
 “ be said to *hide* himself. *St. Austin* is there
 “ considering a Question put, concerning the
 “ Trinity ; and says, *He made all Things by*
 “ *his Word* ; which WORD we know, as a sure
 “ Article of our Faith, to be his only Son. If
 “ God the *Father* did *speak* to the first Man *A-*
 “ *dam* ; *walk* in the Garden ; and the Sinner *hid*
 “ himself from his Face ; why may not He be
 “ understood to have *appeared* to *Abraham* and
 “ *Moses* and others, and in what Manner he
 “ pleased, *by a Creature changeable and visible,*
 “ *made subject to his Will and Pleasure, though*
 “ *He himself in his Nature invisible, and un-*
 “ *changeable ?*

I just hinted, as you observe, at the Begin-
 ning of this Letter, that *Angels*, both good
 and bad, do unquestionably serve the Purposes of
 an all-wise and infinite Being ; that they do not
 only communicate by *Dreams* and *Visions*, but
 are enabled to cloath themselves with some
Ætherial or *Aerial* Substance, and to assume
 the Likeness of Persons, that are departed, and
 gone to their eternal Rest ; tho’ the *Manner of*
it be as much above the Reach of Man’s Un-
derstanding, as the Union of his own Body
and Soul is : And, I hope, Madam, the Ac-
 count I have given you from the *Heathen* and
Christian World, supported by the best Autho-
 rities in each, may have serv’d to make good
 what I then advanc’d. But after all ; will not
 some Persons be apt to tell you, (I know they
 will)

will) that this Letter may possible prove a pretty Amusement; but that the *Facts* related are all owing to the *Depravation* of the Human Senses? I easily imagine *one* Gentleman, who often waits on you, and is very *adroit* in this Sort of Reasoning, representing to you, that there is Abundance of *Melancholly* in some Constitutions; *Choler* very adust in others; *Frenfies*; *Fevers*; and a general *Imbecillity*, whether natural or accidental, in Human Bodies; and that this is the Reason, that Men and Women imagine many Things that are *not*; that besides, there is a great deal of *Superstition* rooted in the Minds of most People, and requires Time and Pains to correct it by good Sense and Argument; which otherwise is apt to draw us into the Belief of Things that are not *true*: However, he tells you, as usual, that one Thing is certainly to be laid down as *true*, viz. That nothing can appear to Men, that exceeds or goes beyond the Powers of Nature. Roundly affirm'd! But, Madam, when we come to talk of Nature seriously, we are as much puzzled about it (with that Gentleman's Leave) as we are about the Manner of good and bad *Angels* assuming *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Substances. And therefore if he believes, that there is *One*, who commands Nature; and that almost every Thing in Nature is calculated more for our Admiration than *Comprehension*; why should it be any Objection, if he cannot comprehend such a *Way* or *Manner* of the same infinite Being's communicating his Will to Mankind? We often act the Philosopher

in talking of *Gravity*; and yet 'tis a Thing, we still find surpasses all the *Powers* of meer *Nature*, and all the Mechanism of Matter: No Part of Matter can be the Cause of its own *Gravity*; no more than it can be the Cause of the *Gravity* of another Body. *Des-Cartes*, who in the last Age was reckoned the great Master of a *Mechanical Hypothesis*, does not suppose or admit of any *specific Difference* in *Matter* a; Nor can any one well imagine otherwise, but that all the *Matter* of the World is of *one Kind*, as to its *Essence*. Here then our Understandings are manifestly at a Loss about *Motion*; and we *then* shew ourselves to have most Reason, when we have Recourse to the Author of Nature; acknowledging, that this is a *Power*, which he has reserved in his own Hands; *Gravity* being the main Engine whereby the Universe is managed and supported, and is principally concerned in the most remarkable *Phænomena* of the natural World. Indeed, Madam, there's hardly any Thing occurs in *Nature*, but serves to remind us of our Ignorance of Things here *below*, and therefore how little qualified to judge of Things *above*. One Drop of Water only, may convince us, if we please; And (what the Gentleman, perhaps, may be startled at) let that *Drop* of Water be well consider'd; the more he uses his Sense and Reason in the Matter, the more he will find his Under-

a Princip. Philos. Part 2. S. 22, 23.

standing foil'd; for the Microscope, the more it enlarges the Sight, the *greater* Trouble it gives to the rational Faculties in accounting for the Discoveries that are made. The Microscope, indeed, tells us, or, rather our capacious Souls know it to be true) that there are living Creatures in the Water *many Millions* of Times smaller in Bulk than a *small visible Sand*^a. By an easy Calculation 'tis found, that there are not less than *twenty seven Millions* of such Animals to make the Bulk of *one small Grain of Sand*: But then, when we come to *reason* upon this Matter, that has been so *artificially* conveyed to us; in what Confusion are our poor Souls, upon the Conclusions that are to be drawn, and the Assent that is to be given by us? *Each* of these *little Creatures* must be allow'd to have *Organs* or Instruments of some Kind or other fit to produce the Motion with which they are endow'd: These *Organs* must be made up of Veins, Arteries or Vessels, to convey Nourishment to them, and in Sinews or Strings by which they may stir and move: It must be farther granted, that the Water must find its Passage by these Vessels, and consequently the *Particles* of Water must be considerable *smaller* than these Vessels; and since the whole Animal itself is but scarcely visible, we must farther conclude, that such Vessels must

^a See Mr. *Leuwenhoek's* Letter, among the Philosophical Experiments of *Dr. Rob. Hooke*, publish'd by Mr. *Derham*, Page 55.

be wholly invisible, and much more, the Parts of Water that move in them: And upon the Whole, we have Reason to think, that as Microscopes will never help us so far, as to discover and distinguish the Particles of which Water does consist; so that the Almighty, had he design'd us for such curious Searches into the Works of his Hands, would have *given us Senses* much more refin'd for that Purpose, than what he has been pleas'd to allot us. I am persuaded, Madam, this Argument will have its due Weight with you, however it may fail with *other*; being well assured that your Knowledge extends to Things, as well *natural* as *divine*; and if our Notions of Things *material* are thus manifestly so very imperfect, and the *Phænomena* in the Terrestrial World are found not to lie level with our own scanty *Reason*, why are Things relating to the *Cœlestial World* to be called in Question? I will only observe, that the *Lucians* of the present Age take much the same Method as their Master did; who, in Opposition to the most renown'd Philosophers of his Time, could find no better Argument against *Apparitions* in general than this, *viz. I don't believe them: Because I only amongst you all did never see any of them*; and as for the Rest, 'twas put off with a *Jest*. But a *Jest*, without an Argument, will do no great Mischief: And such Gentlemen should be often reminded of the Inference, which the *Roman Orator* draws, where he is arguing about Things of this Nature, *viz. I am fully apprized, says he, that these Matters*
may

may be had in Contempt, and made the Subject of Ridicule and Buffoon'ry: But, then such Persons ought to know, that *the very Reason why they act so, is, because they don't believe in any superior Being, and consequently make light of every Thing that is communicated from the other World*^a. I have often wonder'd, how the *Sadducees* could deny the Being of *Angels* and *Spirits*, (as we read in the Gospel they did) since *Moses* so often makes mention of them, and of appearing to Mankind; I do therefore, for my own Part, take the *Sadducees* to have been a complaisant Sort of *Atheists*, who outwardly paid a Regard to some Parts of the *Jewish* Religion on Account of the People, but no otherwise: And this is the Reason, that *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, does not reckon the *Sadducees* in the Number of the *Jews*, but reputed them as *Hereticks*, not allowing them any Place in the *Jewish* Church. And *Celsus*, who was a Sort of an Epicurean, copy'd exactly after the *Sadducees* (as may be seen in *Origen*, who there answers him) making a Jest of *Angels* and the Resurrection; and generally of all those *Apparitions*, which are mentioned both in the Old and New Testament. The true Reason then, Madam, why we are at a Loss in framing any Notion of *Spirit*, is, because our Souls are so *immersed* in

^a Hæc posse contemni, vel etiam rideri, præclare intelligo: Sed id ipsum est, Deos non putare: Quæ ab iis significantur, contemnere. Cic. Lib. 1. de Divin.

Matter themselves : But then, if the *Difficulty* of framing a Conception of a Thing, be any just Argument against the *Existence* of the Thing itself ; we must soon question the very *Being* of our own Souls ; because their being *united* with our Bodies, as I have hinted already, is what we can form no Notion of here ; we must moreover question, you see, what our *Microscope* tells us is *true* in the material World, *because* we cannot comprehend it ; nay, if this Sort of Argument is to be allowed of, there will be nothing but *Spirit*, and no such Thing as a *Body* left in the World : for *Extension* of *Matter* has so many Difficulties attending it, when we come to *reason* truly about it, that our Definition of *Body* is lame and imperfect ; and when we once talk of finite and infinite *Division*, our Heads turn giddy ; we run into Absurdities on either Side of the Question, and nothing is left us to *exist*, by such Argument, but the *very Being* that reflects within us. There is then great Reason to affirm, that such who entertain a Disbelief of *Spirits*, *because* they cannot *understand*, what *immaterial* Beings are, do unhappily entertain a Notion, that *leads* to all Manner of *Irreligion* and Prophaneness : For, when we have once banished the Belief of *incorporeal* Beings out of the World by such Sort of reasoning ; what is this, but carrying us on to the dethroning of the supreme *Spirit* or Father of all ? Let such then talk of their Belief in God ; the Human Soul ; Angels and Devils ; and of the Holy Scriptures too, which
declare

declare these Things to our Faith; yet if they will otherwise discard immaterial Beings, because they *cannot* frame a Notion of them; they are only giving the great Creator an empty Name, an insignificant Attribute, and, in Reality, believing and speaking they know not what. I am pretty sure, there are many, who are not sufficiently aware of the fatal and pernicious Consequences of this *Sadducean* Principle; who are apt to think, they may very safely deny the *Existence* of *Spirits*, and yet that the *Being* of God is no Ways affected by such a Denial; for God, they argue, might be *without* such *immaterial Substances*, as He was certainly *before* them: Nay, God, say they, had been *God*, though he had not been a Creator. Thus the hardy *Deist*, to avoid the Force of *Revelation*, finds himself obliged to propagate his Poison; but this must end in real Atheism: For those that will not bluntly say, There is no God; when they argue in this Manner, do really establish no other God, than what *Epicurus* and his Followers did; and that I must ever think, amounts to real Atheism: But, if *St. Paul* is to be hearkened to; (and why should the *Deist* refuse it?) *the invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, so that they are, or (that they may be) without Excuse* a. When

a Rom. i. 20. εις το ειναι ουκ ανητοιολογητες.

we talk of a *Spirit* then, as Christians, Madam, we talk of it in Opposition to *such Bodies* as we now carry about us ; in the Sense, as our Saviour directs his Disciples to understand it, when they *supposed they had seen a Spirit : Handle me and see, for a SPIRIT hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have*^a. The Disciples were not ignorant, how frequent *Appearitions* were under the *Jewish Dispensation* ; nor does our Saviour *there* give the least Intimation, that they were not to expect the *Continuance* of them under the Gospel : But rather corrects the gross Notions, which in a *Fright* they had conceived in that Matter : *A Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones* ; but yet it may have such an *Ætherial* or *Aerial Vehicle*, as may in other Respects serve to represent a Person as convincingly to our Senses, as if it had such a *real Body*, to which our Souls are here united. Thus much, I think, may fairly be concluded from our Saviour's Words ; and nothing more is desired to be granted : For, as to the *Manner*, how *Spirits* may be united to such *Vehicles*, our Notions about that, are nothing more intricate, perplexed or difficult, than *those* are, which the ablest Philosophers can give us either of their own Soul and Body, or of the Body in general. The honourable and renowned Mr. *Robert Boyle*, did unquestionably know as much, if not more, of the *Powers* of Nature, than any Man what-

^a *Luke* xxiv. 39.

ever : And yet his Knowledge was not more extensive, than 'twas useful and serviceable to Religion. With what Piety does he reflect, in all his *Recherches* ; adoring that infinite *Spirit that once moved upon the Waters* ; confessing the *Mystery*, how God, the most simple and pure *Spirit* can act upon Matter ; and how the Soul and Body work upon and affect each other ? This learned Gentleman was well known to be a Person, by no Means credulous in the Affair of *Apparitions* ; and yet a Co-temporary of his, an eminent Author, *Dr. Henry More in his Collection of Philosophical Writings*, assures us, that *Mr. Boyle*, whilst at *Geneva*, was thoroughly convinced of the Truth of that Relation which he there had of a House at *Maston* in *Burgundy* haunted in a very terrible Manner. *Mr. Perreand*, whose House it was, gave *Mr. Boyle*, at *Geneva*, a Copy of his Book, which he was going to print concerning the Affair. The learned *du Moulin*, in his Preface to *Mr. Perreand's* Book, says, “ That this familiar Conver-
“ sation of the Devil was not in a Corner, or in
“ a Desert (where the Melancholly of Witch-
“ es is supposed to make them fancy they con-
“ verse with him) but in the midst of a great
“ City, in a House where there was daily a
“ great Resort to hear him speak, and where
“ Men of *contrary Religions* met together ;
“ whose Proneness to cast a Disgrace upon the
“ dissenting Parties did occasion the *narrow ex-*
“ *amining* and *full confirming* the Truth there-
“ of, both by the Magistrate and by the Dio-
“ cesan,

“ cesan of the Place. Mr. *Boyle* had the Opportunity, as well of enquiring after Mr. *Perreand* the Relator, as concerning the several Passages in his Book; and yet (to use the Words of Dr. *More*) *Mr. Boyle was so well satisfied, that he professes, that all his settled Indisposedness to believe strange Things was overcome by this special Conviction.* I should not, Madam, have given you any *modern* Instance of Things of this Nature, had it not been introduced by so great a Name as that of Mr. *Boyle*; who ever thought it unreasonable to disclaim any certain Truth, *because* our Faculties are found not sufficient to comprehend it. He has given sufficient Demonstration in his Writings, how readily he believed St. *Paul*, where he talks of *Spiritual Bodies*^a; and I cannot see any Thing amiss, if those Words of St. *Paul* were translated, *such Bodies as Spirits or Angels have.* 'Tis certain, *we see through a Glass darkly*, when we talk of those Expressions of St. *Paul* relating to the Change of our Bodies: *We shall all be changed*; as well such, as are *asleep*, as such who shall be *alive* at the Coming of our Lord; but then St. *Paul* bids us observe, that this mighty Change is a *Mystery*: There will still be our *Body*; but then 'twill be a *Body* in Contradistinction to what we translate a *natural Body*^b: Our Bodies will be *pure* and *refined*; and

^a *Σώματα πνευματικά*, 1 Cor. xv. 44.
^b *Σώμα σπουδαίον*.

these are the *spiritual Bodies*, says the Apostle : And our Saviour tells us ^a, when *such Bodies* shall be given, *we shall be as the Angels which are in Heaven.*

All I shall add, is, an Account which I *myself* had, some Years ago, from a very ingenious Gentleman, a Member of *Parliament* for some Part of *North Britain*; being some of the Discourse, with which I and others were entertained in a *Stage Coach*. He assured me, that a Widow, a Tenant of his in *North Britain*, and who had a great many Children to provide for, did *appear* to him one Night, when he was in Bed at his Lodgings in *Pell-Mell* near *St. James's*; that the Widow let him know, that she was *dead*; but was very *importunate* with him, that he would take Care of the great Family she had left behind her; that he having consented to what was requested, she immediately *squeezed* him (as he thought) about one of his *Wrists*; that a Brother Member of *Parliament* calling on him the next Morning to go to the *House*; he related to him, as he was getting out of Bed, what had happened to him in the Night, and occasioned his lying longer than ordinary; the *Story* (he said) at first made his Friend very merry: But looking upon *that* Wrist which he thought the Woman *squeezed* so hard, and observing, together with his Friend, a *black Spot* on either Side of it, not less in

^a Mark xii. 25.

Circumference than a *Sixpence* ; they *both* began to think and talk of the Matter very seriously : The Gentleman assured me, that he shewed those *black Spots* to Hundreds of People ; that the *Spots* daily *decreased*, and so continued on till he had his *Letters* from *North Britain* ; by which he learnt that the Widow died the *same* Night that she *appeared* to him in *Pell-Mell* ; that she expired with the same Concern for her Children, and lamented the Absence of her Landlord ; and he farther assured me and the Company, that he was fully convinced of such *Apparition* ; and that he did accordingly take *Care* of the Widow's Children. There are many now living, to whom I have given this Account, as well as to yourself : I hope, a kind Providence may soon permit me to send you two or three *Letters* more on the remaining Subjects ; when I shall be so happy as to learn, that *this* has given you any Satisfaction : or that 'tis like to answer the *End* you proposed ; which I am well assured, was to do *Service* to Religion : And I can aver, with the greatest Sincerity ; 'tis with the same View, that the Commands you laid on me have been so chearefully obeyed by,

MADAM,

Your very Humble Servant.

